

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. VIII

AUGUST 1882

No. 8

OLD PELHAM AND NEW ROCHELLE

IT was my fortune to revisit, recently, after a long interval of absence, two homes of my childhood, the birth home at Pelham, Westchester County, in the vicinity of New York, and the church home at New Rochelle, the town adjoining, originally a part of Pelham, comprised within the area of the Manor by the royal charter of 1666, in the reign of Charles II. That charter was granted to Thomas Pell, Esq., "gentleman of the bed-chamber to King Charles I.," and afterward, in 1687, was granted anew, and confirmed to his legally recognized heir, the only son of his brother, the first resident proprietor, "Lord John Pell," according to the usage of address hereabouts in the seventeenth century.

The first object of interest that won attention within view from the railway station, two or three minutes' walk westward along the old historic "King's highway," was the beautiful church edifice of stone, designated "Trinity Church, of New Rochelle," presenting itself to the eye of the inquiring visitor as the successor of the old "French church," that hallowed that surrounding in the reign of Queen Anne. Having noticed, in a musing mood, the contrast between the showing of the rude, small, stony structure that I had first known in childhood as a house of worship and that of the finely proportioned modern temple, whose graceful spire now casts its shadow over the old site, I turned my steps toward the church burial ground, seeking the graves of my grandparents. Long-slumbering memories were aroused, first of all, by the sight of the marble that marked the grave of my grandmother—Sarah Pell, widow of Captain William Bayley—whose funeral service, ministered in the churchyard by her aged relative, the rector, Rev. Theodosius Bartow, I had attended with a large family gathering in the month of March, 1819, being then eleven years of age. The form of the venerable clergyman in his official robes at the grave, his bald head uncovered, despite the chill of a heavy snow-fall, is vividly remembered now as if it had figured in a scene of yesterday.

Meanwhile, however, memory had let slip the date of my grandfather's departure, and I was desirous to regain it from the chiselled record at the head of the grave nearly adjoining. What a bewilderment! I could scarcely believe my eyes, as I read, "Died March 3, 1811." It seemed altogether abnormal, that such minute remembrances of him as had been familiar to me, scores of particulars pertaining to his individuality, even the tones of his voice and his handicraft in making toys for my amusement, should have been thus long kept within the brain as in a photographic or phonographic cabinet. Yet, thus it must have been, despite all seemings to the contrary, I said, soliloquizing in the presence of the facts: At the age of three and a half, hereabouts, began my outlook upon the world. Here I approximate the starting-point of conscious thought; and this outlook over the life area of "threescore and ten" discloses its varied scenes of light and shadow, from infancy to age, as one broad panoramic unity.

Child memories, no doubt, are effective factors in shaping "the make-up" of any personality. The image of my grandfather, associated as it is with the old homestead, and with his flow of talk while occupying his easy chair upon the piazza, where he was wont to enjoy one of the finest of landscapes, taking within its scope Hunter's Island, Pelham Creek, the expanse of Long Island Sound, has never become dim; so that he has ever represented to me the ideal grandpa of poetry or song, of fiction or graphic art, as pictured by Sir Walter Scott or "Peter Parley." Thus has he ever been to me in thought "a living presence," although the obtruding question as to the possibilities of a baby brain will put itself over and over again like a mocking puzzle.

Despite the puzzle, the fact asserts itself. From the view-point occupied at the time of this writing, March, 1882, looking back to the last sickness and to the funeral services at Pelham and New Rochelle, the succession of years and order of events are clearly traced by memory and substantiated as a personal history. There is no break in the outline, although many things, thoughts, words, deeds may be missed from "the filling up."

But now, while occupying the old churchyard as a retrospective view-point, it seems noteworthy that this first advent of death into the household, and this first funeral that shadowed the path of my young life, cannot be described without the joining of two old town names, French and English, New Rochelle and Pelham. Thus, too, looking upon the headstones that memorialize the many graves in this "God's acre," as the old English called the consecrated burial ground, we notice the alternations or intermingling of English and French surnames, denoting the quick fusion of English and French blood in the homes of the early settlers nearly two centuries ago.

On the tombstones of the dead and on the door-signs of the living, the same old names present themselves: the Pells, Bayleys, Bartows, Pinckneys, Sands, Hunts, Guions, Le Counts, Allaires, Leroy's, Coutants, Secors, Badeaus, Flandreaus, De Peysters, De Lanceys, and others, signaling the spontaneous union of Saxon and Celtic elements in the historic home life and church life of the colonial days.

These first exiles from France, seeking permanent homes and religious liberty, though, to a great extent, "spoiled of their goods," realized actually the sentiment so well emphasized by Daniel Webster in addressing young Americans, namely, "Character is *capital*;" being, in the best sense, "well to do;" free, and inclined to contract family alliances from choice, taste, and personal qualities rather than from considerations of mere expediency or goading necessity. Few and weak though they seemed, their place in history is as clearly defined as that of the "Ten Thousand" retreating Greeks whom Xenophon has immortalized, having been long ago distinguished as a part of that heroic "Fifty Thousand" who fled from France to England about four years before the annulling of the Edict of Nantes, signed by Henry IV. in 1598, for the protection of Protestants, and revoked by Louis XIV. in 1685; having been in force, nominally though not really, nearly four-fifths of a century. Having emigrated from England to New York, some of them by way of the West Indies, particularly St. Christopher's and Martinique, they found the most beautiful lands of the vicinity chartered under English manorial proprietorship, whereby it was made easy for them to establish themselves in new and permanent homes. All antipathies of blood or race melted away in the presence of a common Christianity. An area of six thousand acres, a part of the Manor of Pelham, was conveyed to their friend and agent, Jacob Leisler, merchant of New York, on acceptable terms, in 1689, surveyed and divided into lots or farms by Alexander Allaire and Captain Bond, in 1692; named New Rochelle in memory of the old fortress of Protestantism in France, and then the family life of the two peoples, by its own interior law of development, grew into a civil and social unity, "compact together," under the sway of a common sentiment, as if all gloried in the same genealogical origin.

In this retrospective view of bicentennial history we can hardly trace the fortunes of a rich domain so beautiful as was this broad, picturesque area of almost ten thousand acres, so near the rising metropolis, constituted by royal, ducal, and colonial authority, under lawful grant and patent of his Majesty, Charles II., and also of his sterner brother, King James II., "an absolute, entire, enfranchised township, and place of itself, in no manner of way to be subordinate or under the rule of any riding, township, or place of jurisdic-

tion," and then observe how it was "willed" at once by its first proprietor, Thomas Pell, into the possession of an English heir, his nephew, a young man, only twenty-five years of age, without being sympathetically alive to the import of the doubtful questioning put by the more advanced of the exiles—"What manner of man is this lord of the manor? What have been his antecedents? Is his spirit akin to that of the intriguing, persecuting Royal Duke, James of York, now king, through whom, by special permission of his Majesty, Charles II., the earlier charter of proprietorship was received?" The inquiry was serious; the answer was encouraging. The young lord's biography was easily traced. His environment suggested cheerful prophecies. Although his youthful years had been passed amid a general unsettlement of things in church and state, adverse to the pursuit of his studies continuously in due course, his home life and school life under his father's eye furnished advantages quite exceptional for liberal self-culture, adapted to qualify him for the place of lordly eminence bequeathed to him in this new world as the protector of an oppressed people, the founder of a community truly unique as to condition and character.

At this point of our retrospect let us take up the exiled Huguenot's question—What were this young lord's antecedents? His father, whose name figured largely in the State papers of the Protectorate as the Right Honorable John Pell, was eminent among English educators. Born on the first day of March, 1610, at Southwycke, Sussex County, England, of which parish his father, the Rev. John Pell, was then rector, he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in the year 1623, and, before the end of another decade, had won European fame as an author in the higher range of philosophical and mathematical studies. Having accepted the offer of a professorship in Amsterdam, he then attracted the regard of the Prince of Orange, by whom he was appointed to the Professorship of Mathematics at Breda, in Holland, where a military and naval academy had been established. Thus, having achieved a brilliant career in the prime of life, he was chosen by Oliver Cromwell, in April, 1654, English Resident Ambassador to the Swiss Cantons. This confidential relation to the Lord Protector at the time when he stood forth at the height of his power, the recognized protector of Protestant Switzerland against the persecuting powers of the Continent, gives ample proof of an enlarged statesmanlike style of mind in harmony with the liberal ideas and progressive spirit that have throughout our own century thus far ruled the course both of English and American History. A single fact recorded by Mr. Bolton in his history of Westchester County (II., 51) puts this inference beyond all questioning: "In the Landsdown MSS. are eleven volumes of Dr. Pell's, written in excellent style. The first volume

contains a vast fund of information respecting the persecutions of the Piedmontese." Evidently his sympathies were with the true leaders of the age; not with the oppressors, but the oppressed.

In connection with a fact so significant we are not surprised to learn that while serving the Government of his country at Zurich, Mr. Pell's letters to his wife, at home, indicate minute attention to the elementary education of his only son, the future "Lord John" of Pelham, particularizing the most suitable schools, the studies and the teachers appropriate to the young scholar's situation or turn of mind, even urging special care as to the style of penmanship required by the boy "eleven years old," in danger of forming wrong habits at the outset. Four years after his many educational counselings had been written from Zurich, while the school life of young John was still in process, the English Mission to Switzerland was terminated, the minister was commended, called home, and informed on his arrival that the Lord Protector was dying. Very soon the whole country was convulsed; but, despite the agitations of that disastrous period, the youthful heir of a transatlantic "lordship"—fifteen years of age at the time of his father's return—was exceptionally favored as to his opportunities for receiving the best possible training under the eye of his watchful parent, who had already taken rank with the best educators of England.

Fortunately for the professor, while occupying so effectively his chair at Breda, he found it within his power to confer personal favors upon the exiled King, Charles II., then sojourning there. These were gratefully remembered, and opened the way, soon after the Restoration, for his being admitted into "holy orders" by the Bishop of London in 1661, for his being honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity, gifted by the Crown with the Rectory of Fobbing, in Essex, and afterward, by the Bishop, with that of Lavingdon, in the same county; all showing that the change of Government from commonwealth to kingdom brought to him no great distress, nor interfered with the educational interests of his family. The scholar, the diplomatist, the statesman, who had been recognized throughout Europe as the representative of the Lord Protector in defence of the peoples oppressed for conscience sake, was eminently qualified, of course, to train his only son into sympathy with his own ideas and the martyr spirit of the exiles who were to seek transatlantic homes within his own lordly domain.

In this timing of events the Huguenot pilgrims discerned a divine adjustment of means to ends as real and apt as was that traced by the Israelites in the predicted exaltation of the youthful Joseph to that ancient "lordship" that prepared *their* way to the Land of Promise. Of the fine qualities of character exemplified by these heroic people, and the possibilities of their

future, he was thoroughly appreciative. How different might have been their fortunes had he, like some leading men of the period, favored the exclusive policy of the reigning monarch by whom the manorial charter had been granted, and whose measures, ere long, rendered the English Revolution a logical necessity! But all antipathies were overruled, and in the annals of the following century we trace the gradual growth of a well-ordered and happy community, distinguished by an inherited refinement of manners and a degree of intellectual culture that made the New Rochelle of Pelham what the legal phrase of the charter designated the Manor, "a place of itself;" unique; winning to its homes and schools the best elements of family life and of social advancement. At the opening of the nineteenth century, the French language, spoken in purity and elegance, still lived as the vernacular of home life, attracting the more progressive class of students, whereof the names of Washington Irving, John Jay, Philip Schuyler, and Gouverneur Morris may be taken as exponents. A few who were children at that period are yet living, and remember the ladies who, like Mary Beslie, the sister of Dr. Oliver Beslie, possessed home libraries containing the standard works of French literature that had nourished the intellectual youth of their mothers in France. As it has been well said by Macaulay, that the fusion of Norman and Saxon elements in the thirteenth century produced the England that has figured as a power in world history, so we may truly say that the fusion of English and French elements in this manorial tract, bought originally of the Indians by Thomas Pell, Esq., in 1654, confirmed by an English king, James II., as a "lordship," in 1687, produced a social growth of fine typical character, and furnished a contribution distinctively its own to the progress of American colonial civilization.

The incidental reference by name to an excellent lady who had passed the border-line of "threescore and ten" before the nineteenth century began, recalls to mind one whose image is associated with my earliest memories and with my first impressions of the primitive style of the cultivated Huguenot's life and manners. Madame Beslie, while in thought I replace her amid the old home surroundings in Pelham, New Rochelle, and New York, reappears in my retrospective musing as I saw her often in my school days, a queenly woman of ninety-five years, not bent by age, retaining her natural ease and grace of movement, still able by her winning ways to draw us young folk to her side as listeners to her talk while she rehearsed the memories of her youth. The younger children of the family circle, usually speaking of her as "Aunt Mollie Bayley," were obliged, each in turn, to take a lesson on the different spellings of French words that sound alike. When her memory became unretentive of things recent, it kept fresh as ever the things long past;

hence, whensoever I greeted her after absences of a month or week, she would place her hands upon my temples; then, kissing me upon the forehead, would pleasantly allude to the old French mode of salutation. At once, as if making a new communication, she would repeat with an interest as lively as ever the story of the exodus, the deadly persecution in France, and the fate of her grandmother, who had been dragged through the streets of Paris by the hair of her head. Having ended her narrative, the turn of her familiar talk would be suggested, often by the old French book that she would happen to be holding in her hand, or by a reference to some volume or pictured page within the glass doors of her book-case. Gifted as she was with communicative power, she was, at the same time, one of the best of listeners, calling forth from her company the best they had to offer; and, indeed, I have sometimes wondered whether the charms of her conversation were to be regarded the more eminently as an inherited talent, as the incidental outcome of favoring social influences, or the product of some kind of educational training that had grown into "a second nature." Though uncertain, just now, as to the date of her departure from earth—not far from the close of 1817—I can truly say that her beautiful example of refined Christian womanhood has been ever before me as an exponent of Huguenot character, shaping my conceptions of Huguenot home life and keeping alive my sympathies with the spirit of Huguenot history.

Coincident with these sentiments as to inherited culture was the impression made upon the mind of New England by the example of public spirit exhibited in the city of Boston by a native of New Rochelle more than a century and a quarter ago. From the earliest days of the American Revolution Fanueil Hall has been to Boston a household word, familiar to the lips of men, women, and children as the memorial of Huguenot munificence, rendered classical by historic associations that quicken the pulse of patriotism, and call forth the spirit of song in commemoration of "The Cradle of Liberty." Thus the name of a Huguenot of New Rochelle has not only held a shining place in the annals of the colonial commonwealth, but lives in the nation's history as a source of inspiration, awakening memories that are an uplifting power.

Although the name of this man, thus memorialized, has been daily repeated in the first city of New England by four or five successive generations, yet his short and inspiring life story had been permitted almost to fade away from memory until its late restoration to the popular range of home reading, by the pen of Charles C. Smith, who has contributed a choice chapter to the memorial history of Boston. The uncle of Peter, the founder and donor of the Hall, was Andrew Fanueil, who fled from France

to Holland in 1685, and thence, as the record shows, had become, in 1691, a tax-payer and citizen of Boston. At the opening of the eighteenth century he had taken rank as the leading merchant of the city in point of wealth, trusted by all as a man of honesty and honor. His death, in 1737, seemed, indeed, an untimely event. The sense of loss was universal, expressed by the gathering at his grave—a procession of eleven hundred persons, representatives of the whole people. His property was “willed” to his nephew, Peter, who, at eighteen years of age, had left his native town, New Rochelle, sojourned for a short period in Rhode Island, whither he had accompanied his father, Benjamin; proceeding thence to Boston, he entered into the service of his uncle, Andrew, and soon won the confidence and the love that issued in his appointment as his uncle’s executor and residuary legatee. His career was brief but brilliant. Though he lived only five years after his uncle’s decease, he rendered that small fraction of life a fine historical episode in the municipal record of his time.

In the year 1740 the people were divided into two parties, nearly equal in numbers, by the discussion of a proposal to meet a public need—the erection of a central market-house. The opponents of the enterprise were persistent, though the grounds of their action are not now clearly discernible. In this state of the public mind Peter Fanueil came forward and offered to erect the building at his own cost, “to be improved for a market, for the sole uses, benefit, and advantage of the town, provided that the town of Boston would pass a vote for that purpose, and lay the same under such proper regulations as shall be thought necessary, and constantly support it for said use.”

The Selectmen called a meeting to act upon the proposal; 367 votes were cast for accepting the gift, 360 against it. Mr. Fanueil enlarged his plan, and over the market erected a splendid hall, capable of accommodating a thousand persons. At a town meeting, in the Town House, September 13, 1743, a vote was unanimously passed accepting the gift, and appointing a committee, consisting of the Moderator of the meeting, the Selectmen, the Representative to the General Court, and six other gentlemen, “to wait upon Peter Fanueil, Esq., and in the name of the town to render him their hearty thanks for so bountiful a gift, with their prayers that this and other expressions of his bounty and charity may be abundantly recompensed with the divine blessing.”

The first town meeting held within the walls of Fanueil Hall, 1743, was the occasion for delivering a eulogy on the life and character of the donor, by Mr. John Lovell, Master of the Latin School. In his oration Mr. Lovell said, after referring to private charities, “Let this stately edifice which bears

his name, witness for him what sums he expended in public munificence. This building, erected by him at his own immense charge, for the convenience and ornament of the town, is incomparably the greatest benefaction ever yet known to our Western shore." Thus Boston, a century and a quarter ago, gratefully declared to the world that, although the Huguenot element did not much affect population as to quantity, it was an effective factor of sterling worth as to *quality*, and that the finest expression of its spirit and style was to be found in the magnificent record left there by the large-souled young Huguenot of New Rochelle.

Having mentioned the year of Mr. Fanueil's departure, 1743, it may be noted, incidentally, that in 1843 the celebration of our National Independence in Fanueil Hall awakened into new life old historic associations, and imparted to that day's observance somewhat of the dignity of a centennial recognition. On the Fourth of July of that year Mr. Charles Francis Adams delivered his first public oration, and, as had been expected, in the presence of the venerable ex-president, his father. Having been invited to officiate as chaplain on that occasion, I repaired to the Council Chamber of the City Hall half an hour before the time for forming the procession. While reclining alone upon the old-fashioned window-seat, enjoying its pleasant outlook, the ex-president entered the room; ere long taking his seat beside me, he touched upon a few reminiscences of the past, and then said, in a tone expressive of profound feeling, "This is one of the happiest days of my whole life. Fifty years expire to-day since I performed in Boston my first public service, which was the delivery of an oration to celebrate our National Independence. After a half century of active life, I am spared by a benign Providence to witness my son's performance of his first public service, to deliver an oration in honor of the same great event." To this I answered, "President, I am well aware of the notable connection of events to which you refer; and having committed and declaimed a part of your own great oration when a school-boy in New York, I could without effort repeat it to you now." To "the old man eloquent" as well as to myself the coincidence was an agreeable surprise. At the close of the services connected with the delivery of the oration, the guests of the city were gathered at the festal banquet in Fanueil Hall. There I was called upon, as chaplain, not only to invoke the divine benediction, but to respond to a patriotic sentiment that awakened memories of the heroic dead. To me, certainly, it was an uplifting thought, that, like the founder of the Hall, belonging by birth to Pelham and New Rochelle, at the end of a century from the year of its completion and his departure, I was standing in the thronged edifice that memorialized his name, alive to the significance of the position,

well assured that by every uttered word I was but voicing the ideas that he loved, that he expressed in deeds more eloquent than words, and made his record a treasured legacy.

This early colonial civilization, which we have traced from its beginning, with its style of culture so unique on account of its variety of elements fused into newly developed characters, ere long put forth a power of attraction that gathered to it and around it people of congenial tastes, appreciative of the social qualities and educational aspirations recognized as a transmitted heritage. Long remembered among these who, at the close of the last century, sought a home in old Pelham, was a man of large fortune, an educated gentleman, a bachelor, just touching the border of middle life, of whom, as it seems, only one memorial can now be found, and that the marble slab at the head of his grave, hinting briefly at the beginning and ending of his life story. A single sentence utters its whole message, thus: In memory of Alexander Bampffield Henderson, Esq., a native of Charleston, in South Carolina, but late of the town of Pelham and county of Westchester, who departed this life 26th December, 1804, aged 47 years.

On a bright summer's day, about ten years ago, in a solitary walk among the tombs of the old French burial ground, my attention was arrested by the inscription here copied. Although I had never seen the man, nor had been his contemporary, I felt myself closely related and greatly indebted to him. For I was familiar with the story that from his beautiful island residence, separated by Pelham Creek from the land estate of my grandparent, William Bayley, he used daily to walk across the causeway and bridge to our homestead and relieve the loneliness of "Bachelor's Hall" in the sympathetic enjoyment of our family life. Such was his habitude, indeed, during the most important period of my mother's history, her later school days. His private library, a true index of his cherished tastes, was one of the best, at the time, outside of the metropolis; and it greatly intensified his enjoyment of it, often recognizing in my mother, née Anne Bayley, a keen appreciation of books, to minister to her intellectual development by placing at her command the freshest productions of English literature, rendering her familiar with the standard works of essayists and poets, with most of those English classics, indeed, that would be found in the choicest home library at the close of the eighteenth century. Thus, working "better than he knew," he was providing the main topics of interest that ruled the course of our household talk throughout my school days and was qualifying my mother to become, not professionally, but incidentally and really, the attractive companion and educator of her five children. Her grateful allusions to him made his name familiar to our ears; and often

curious fancy would invest with a golden haze of romance the unwritten history of this "lone lord of the isle." Rumor had sometimes whispered that, in his experience, the glow of youthful hope had been dimmed by the death of a first love, for whose vacant place no substitute could be found on earth.

In this connection it remains to be said, however, that, whether this suggestion were true or not, a few well-remembered facts, outlining his life course, were recently rehearsed to me by Elbert Roosevelt, Esq., whose life-long residence in Pelham, near the island, suggest a series of memories related to the whole vicinity, extending over two-thirds of a century. These conversational statements supply what was lacking to give a desired unity to the story.

Mr. Henderson, born in South Carolina, was of Scotch origin; was educated at the University of Edinburgh, and then took rank as a surgeon in the English army. Thus he was brought into communication with the British ambassador in India, and was by him introduced to the Court of the reigning prince, who engaged the surgeon's professional services in behalf of his favorite wife, then seriously ill. The treatment was a success, and the delighted prince honored Mr. Henderson, in his own way, by the presentation of a beautiful Circassian slave girl, about thirteen years of age. This present the army surgeon did not bring away with him from India; "but, after establishing his home at the island," said Mr. Roosevelt, "he commissioned your father (Captain James Hague, of Pelham, commanding a ship in the India trade) to look after this princely gift, and bring with him the young Circassian as a passenger on his return voyage from Calcutta. With her, accordingly, Captain Hague sought an interview, but found her so well pleased with her position in the household of a British officer that she could not be induced to leave her new protector. Nevertheless, the captain was accompanied by an Indian lad, the surgeon's protégé, who was welcomed, treated as an adopted son, and bore the name of William Henderson. The lad survived the retired surgeon eight years, and was buried by his side in the old French burial ground at New Rochelle." The two graves are surrounded by a well-wrought iron fence, and the smaller marble headstone bears this brief inscription: In memory of William Henderson, who died January 19, 1812, in the 25th year of his age.

In his last sickness the young man was most kindly attended by Dr. Rogers, through whose influence or advice he bequeathed the sum of twelve hundred dollars, appropriated to the erection of a Town House, "for the use and convenience" of the people of New Rochelle. With the recognition of this gift the townspeople of our time generally associate the name of the owner of the island home; it is, however, the East Indian youth's memorial.

Henderson's Island, beautiful for situation, distinguished by its home-
stead, so greatly enriched by the best of home libraries in Pelham, became
well known as Hunter's Island, more distinguished than ever by its new
palatial mansion, with the best private art gallery in the United States.
The propriety of this characterization by the use of the superlative degree,
was, probably, undisputed by any rival during the first two decades of this
century. We may safely say that no one of the earlier generations of the
Pells, or of the Huguenots, however aspiring, would have dreamed of such
a possibility for a family home within the bounds of the manorial grant so
recently chartered by an English king in troublous times, and then so thor-
oughly impoverished by the Revolutionary War. Under what conditions
could it have seemed possible that some of the choicest treasures of ancient
Italian galleries could be transferred to a secluded little island, fifteen miles
from the city of New York, the purchase of a young American?

The explanation, as received from Mr. Hunter, personally, was this: At
the time of his graduation from Columbia College, twenty-one years of age,
it so happened that he came into full possession of his property. A friend
and fellow-student, travelling in Europe while Napoleon was campaigning
in Italy, wrote earnestly, reminding him that, on account of insecurity, art
treasures were offered for sale at great sacrifice, and that an opportunity to
indulge cherished tastes had now arrived, the like of which had not been
known before and might never come again. "My answer was prompt,"
said Mr. Hunter, "availing myself of his service, with faith in his judgment
and discretion."

Here, at this point of writing, I have arrested my pen in order to read
aloud to a friendly caller what, as it happens, I have just now written, and
have thus drawn forth this critical questioning: Surely, the Italian art dealers
must have seen *their* opportunity in negotiating with a young commissioned
American, and might have been quite equal to the occasion. How have
the claims of these choice treasures been verified? However fair and apt
that questioning may be, suffice it here for me to say that it is not within
the scope of my purpose to determine the origin of the pictures, and that
with a youth's faith in the keen insight and critical judgment of so highly
educated an amateur as the Hon. John Hunter, it was my fortune to realize,
amid our surroundings in the gallery, all possible delight and mental quick-
ening, limited only by the measure of receptivity. Outside of the family
circle, Mr. Hunter, who in his spirit and style of manners represented a
high ideal of the typical gentleman, the courteous and accomplished State
Senator, reappears to the eye of memory as the first personality that I can
recall as associated with my early life in Pelham. Ere long, after the death

of his son Des Broesses Hunter, Esq., the gallery was sold ; the island passed into other ownership ; yet, whatsoever may be its fortunes in the future, its relation to old Pelham and New Rochelle as a source of intellectual and æsthetic culture to several successive generations will brighten the record of its past and render its name a cherished memory in the annals of local history.¹

The mention of these names pertaining to the island's history in connection with that of the Manor and town, carries us back in thought to the Anglo-French life of old Pelham as pictured out sixty or more years ago in our family talks, and illumined now by our memories of those who represented the remoter past. Fortunately for us our dear grandparents, uncles, and aunts, were lovingly communicative ; rehearsing to us of the third generation the local annals of the Manor and the familiar facts of the revolutionary era ; little episodes as lively as any that Fenimore Cooper has woven into his romance of "The Spy." Then incidental stories of the home life that followed the establishment of Independence and "The Union" were equally winning, making us acquainted with our kindred and neighbors, with our parents, associates in their early days throughout rural and suburban surroundings. Prominent among these was Dr. Richard Bayley, the only brother of my grandfather, whose mother was a Huguenot, née Susanne Leconte, and whose eminently distinguished daughter, Eliza Ann Bayley Seton, has been historically recognized as the presiding genius of the Roman Catholic Academic Institute at Emmetsburg, Maryland, and the founder of the Order of Sisters of Charity in the United States. Dr. Bayley, himself, a favorite student of the celebrated Hunter of London, the first Professor in the Medical Department of Columbia College, an accepted authority as a professional writer in England and France,² though living within an environment of churchly influences at home, acknowledged no connection with any ecclesiastical organism. Hence the position of his accomplished daughter, biographically commemorated as "Mother Seton," the gifted educator as well as the founder of the most eminent of sisterhoods (and we may add here, parenthetically, the more recent positions of his grandson, James Roosevelt Bayley, as having been, at first, Rector of the Episcopal Church at Harlem, and then, at last, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, Primate of America), seems the more particularly noteworthy. In a widening circle of relationships thus made up there could be evidently no lack of conversational topics adapted to keep us all mentally alive and wide awake to note the driftings of thought throughout the whole community, so recently set free from the *régime* of a colonial church establishment, whose ideal aim had been, of course, the legal maintenance of religious uniformity.

Touching the first of the ecclesiastical transmutations here mentioned, profoundly sad, indeed, was the tone of amazement discernible in the exclamation of Mrs. Seton's elder sister, Mrs. Dr. Wright Post, of Throgg's Neck, addressed to my mother and by her repeated to me, regarding the talented Ann Eliza: "She has gone over to the church that persecuted her ancestors." As we now look back over the seven decades that have gone by since that day, we may safely say that no change of ecclesiastical relations on the part of an individual has stirred "society" at the time with emotions so keenly conflicting or has been effective of influences more widely felt in the homes of the country.

To many, even personal friends, the change seemed inexplicable; a mystery, a fact untraceable to any adequate cause. Numerous and earnest were the questionings as to what influences had been secretly working at the starting-point of this new career. By some, especially those who had been associated with her from childhood in the communion of "dear old Trinity," the explanation was found in the sensibility of her emotive nature, under the stress of sorrow, to loving appeals during her stay in Italy, where, in the year 1804, her honored husband, William Seton, Esq., died after a lingering illness, and where her depressed spirit found relief in the ministrations of the Roman Catholic Church as well as in the hospitable home of the noble-souled Felichi. The truth is, however, that the trend of her steps toward the Roman Catholic Church, strengthened by her æsthetic tastes, was noticed in her earlier days before she had left her native land; and after her return from Italy to New York she was still a communicant of Trinity Church, for weeks, as she said, "in an agony of suspense," engaged in discussions, oral and written, with the Rev. John Henry Hobart, then Rector of Trinity, afterward Bishop of the Diocese of New York, and Archbishop Carroll, of Baltimore, in regard to the main principles of Protestantism. At that earlier period her cousin, Ann Bayley, of Pelham, only eight years younger than herself, was living in the environment of the same religious atmosphere, keenly sympathetic, constantly interchanging sentiments as well as visits.

The leading idea that then engaged the thoughts of those two cousins pertained not so much to the emotive nature as to the intellectual; for a main subject of discussion, emphasized in the chief pulpits of New York at that day, was the relation of the sacraments to personal salvation. At that point the life-course of the two cousins diverged. The affirmation, sometimes eloquently argued, that the sacraments, administered through a regular priestly succession, are the divinely appointed channels through which saving grace flows forth from the fountain of life into the human soul, took

the strongest possible hold upon the spirit nature of the elder cousin, calling forth, even then, painful doubts over a suggested question, namely this :— "As the Anglican Church recognizes the perfect validity of the Roman Catholic sacraments, while, on the other hand, the older Roman Church has never recognized the validity of the Anglican administration, am I not required, by a proper regard for my own soul's peace and safety, to place myself upon the ground that remains to both sides undisputed?" Strange as it may seem to many that her early faith should have faltered before such a question, from that starting-point of thought she advanced in due time, after her return from Italy, through "an agony of suspense" to the positions taken in her printed correspondence with Bishop Hobart and the Primate of Baltimore. At the same time her younger cousin, then residing at the paternal home in Pelham, equally interested in the new inquiry, as to them it seemed, having been attracted as a listener to the teachings of the eminent preacher of the Presbyterian Church in Murray Street, Rev. Dr. John Mitchell Mason, who occasionally delivered a discourse in New Rochelle, she embraced, with a responsive spirit, the formulated statement of pure Protestantism, "justification by faith alone," so eloquently put forth by him as "the true spirit union with Christ, embracing within it character and condition." Thenceforward her favorite characterization of Christianity was "the religion of the New Testament," emphasizing thus, as she thought, by this short phrase, the two distinguishing qualities of the primitive church teaching, simplicity and catholicity.³

It is a curiously suggestive study, this tracing of mental histories. From the same starting-points of intellectual, emotive, or spiritual development, even of congenial minds, how strangely far apart the issues! Some time before her departure for Italy, the elder cousin visited her younger, sisterly cousin at Pelham; at the moment of taking leave, bidding her good-by while presenting her an article of skilfully wrought needle-work as a love-token, kissed her and said, "I hope we shall meet in heaven." They never met on earth again. Both lived, however, to an advanced age. The elder, having wept for the last time over the grave of her husband in Italy—the English burial-ground at Pisa—and having returned to New York, welcomed, ere long, the comparative seclusion of a conventual life in Maryland; the younger, having been joined in marriage—by Rev. Theodosius Bartow, Rector of New Rochelle, at her father's house in Pelham—to Captain James Hague, commander of a ship in the East India trade, lived happily, the life of her family circle, until nearly "fourscore years" of age; and then, after fourteen years of widowhood, died at the house of her only daughter, Mrs. Dr. Alexander W. Rogers, Paterson, New Jersey, amid the benedictions

of her children, who, in accordance with the Old Scripture's voicing of filial love, "rise up and call her blessed."

The contrasted issues of two lives thus realized by two friends of Huguenot descent, impart significance to a saying noted at Paris in a tourist's journal, that the trend of the French nature is toward intellectual freedom, and that where there is French blood it will assert itself in individuality of character, tempered and toned by inherited tastes and manners into social and civil concord. The fortunes of Pelham and New Rochelle illustrate this view. In this connection it seems a noteworthy fact that the English monarch who gave to Pelham its first manorial charter, was himself the sole, self-determined donor of the charter of Rhode Island to Roger Williams, openly declaring the reason of his action to be his sovereign will to "experiment whether civil government could consist with such liberty of conscience." It may seem strange that a notably careless, pleasure-loving king, like Charles II., should rise to the height of the grandly exceptional opportunity presented to him as a means of solving a great problem for the world through all time. The thought has been naturally suggested that he had no higher aim than a provision for unlimited freedom for the Roman Catholics. In that combination of events, however, the founder of Rhode Island recognized a divine ruling or overruling, when he said, "The Father of spirits has impressed his royal spirit," and added, in his letter to Major Mason, "this, his Majesty's grant, was startled at by his Majesty's high officers of State, who were to view it in course before the sealing, but fearing the lion's roaring, they couched against their wills in obedience to his Majesty's pleasure." As here we repeat this marvellous testimony, we are tempted to wish that the experimenting king who gave to Pelham as well as to Rhode Island a charter of self-government, could have lived long enough to hear from the whole area of the old Manor, after embracing within its limits the town of New Rochelle, the experimental response of a thriving population, with all its diversities of race, taste, and traditions, a live civil unity; their homes all vocal with the ancient song of the Hebrews, "The border-lines have fallen to us in pleasant places; we have a goodly heritage."

In this retrospective monograph, I have had occasion to refer by name to women of the Huguenot family. Now, last of all, our thoughts are drawn to a late suggestive event in the annals of New Rochelle, attracting the attention of the nation at large to one funeral scene; namely, the death of a lady in whose veins flowed the blood of an Anglican and a French ancestry.

The quiet departure of Mrs. Caroline Leroy Webster, on Sunday, February 26th, at the Leroy Mansion, was announced generally by the press, and awakened many slumbering memories of her life, associated with New

York, Boston, and Washington, as well as with Pelham and New Rochelle. Born at the house of her father, Jacob Leroy, Esq., New York, 1797, a considerable proportion of her early remembrances were associated with scenes of rural life pertaining both to the Manor and the town.

Mr. Webster, having met Miss Leroy at her city residence, recognized at once the rare quality of her intellectual culture, her graceful manners, her conversational gifts, and her queenly power as a leader of society. In the year 1829 she became his second wife; and in the more extended sphere of social and public life that she thus entered was, from first to last, perfectly at home.

The storm that raged on Wednesday, March 1st, was at its height when the funeral service was ministered in Trinity Church, New Rochelle, by the Rector, Rev. Mr. Canedy, and Rev. Mr. Higgins, Rector of Christ Church, Pelham; and as the attendance of ladies was necessarily limited, the large gathering of gentlemen, from homes far and near, was remarkable, indicating the profoundly cherished memories relating to the career of the great statesman, the completed close of whose home life on earth seemed as if now emphasized by the funeral dirge within the temple and the majestic voice of the tempest without.

Not long after the death of Mr. Webster, as we well remember, one hundred citizens of Boston contributed one thousand dollars each to a fund of one hundred thousand dollars, which was invested for Mrs. Webster's benefit, and the interest of this she duly received at her home in New Rochelle, a timely and welcome contribution to the cheer of her tranquil life evening.

Thus, it may be truly said that the men of Boston, in our own time, have given back a fitting response to the munificence of a Huguenot native of New Rochelle, expressed in the gift of Faneuil Hall to their honored city more than a century and a quarter ago, exemplifying the perfect fusion of Anglican and French elements into a vital unity, to endure through centuries to come.

WILLIAM HAGUE

¹ When first penning the closing lines of this paragraph, the writer supposed that there was still occasion, in alluding to the designation of the island, to use the phrase, its *former* name. Since then we have welcomed the intelligence that since the estate has passed into the hands of Mr. C. Oliver Iselin, the old familiar name, "Hunter's Island," whereby our sires and grandsires knew the place, has been restored and chiselled upon the granite pillars of the causeway; a work of good taste in which we all have a common interest.

² Thacher's Medical Biography: Art. Bayley.

³ Dr. Mason's *physique*, his figure and manner, were majestic and commanding. On one occasion, after listening to him at New Rochelle, Hon. John Hunter said to my mother, "That man was born to command, not to persuade; he has mistaken his calling; he ought to have been a Major-General in the United States Army."

⁴ Major Mason's Letter, Mass. His. Coll., vol. i.

THE ST. CLAIR PAPERS

That Major-General Arthur St. Clair was an officer of some distinction in the war of the Revolution; that, like every other military character in that struggle who has fallen into the biographer's hands, he enjoyed "the confidence" of Washington and "the esteem" of his army; that, subsequently, he became President of the Continental Congress and then Governor of the Northwestern Territory, where he suffered a cruel defeat at the hands of the Indians; that, as to individual qualities, he combined a certain rugged force of will—an inherited Scotch characteristic—with decided mental capacity, and made both influential through a generally frank disposition; that, in short, he was a man of public note in our early history, well worth knowing about and worth remembering—are matters which any one at all familiar with the times in which he lived need not be reminded of. The point which concerns the historical critic of to-day is to give such men their true place, neither elevating nor belittling them, but, as far as the means of forming a judgment exist, preserving their memories in a perfectly just proportion. It would be a service, indeed, should some writer of judicial temper and much information undertake the delicate task of gauging, individually, the public value of the patriarchs of the Republic, for the purpose of placing a proper restraint upon the tendency toward indiscriminate eulogy. Of the several personal histories of men of that period that have appeared within the last fifty years, very few—and the valuable work before us fails to rank among the exceptions—are free from the fault of overestimating their subjects, sometimes going to the length of posing them in niches where the originals would blush to find themselves. Honor enough is due these worthies for what they actually were; not to say that the effect of their example, one of the prime objects of reviving their lives, becomes impaired by the excess to which praise is indulged.

St. Clair, with his *confrères*, is to be judged by comparison—historical comparisons, so far from being odious, being absolutely necessary. It will not be claimed that, as a general, he is to be named with Greene, whose soldiery qualities constantly asserted themselves and made an impression, whether in victory or defeat; nor can it be said that he was an officer of that personal magnetism which distinguished Lafayette, whose career was more varied and conspicuous than St. Clair's; nor was his name as closely identified with the army as that of Steuben, its drill-master and inspector,

or of Knox, its chief of artillery; nor were his actual services in the field at all commensurate with Wayne's, who came from the same State and held an inferior commission; nor did he display the qualities which made Daniel Morgan the dashing leader at Saratoga and the victor at Cowpens. At the evacuation of Ticonderoga, in 1777, the only military episode with which St. Clair is prominently identified, he played the part of a good, safe soldier—and would be denounced to-day as unfit for any command whatever had he done otherwise—while after that he appears, by virtue of his rank, as a division commander in the main army. With the coming of peace he identified himself with public civil affairs, filling stations and rendering services which entitle him to continued consideration; but here, too, he is to be measured with others, some exerting less, some exerting greater influence in shaping events.

We may regard the subject of these Papers in this double capacity—first, as one of the men of Seventy-Six, and again as civilian and Governor of the Northwest, whither settlers were then moving in large numbers, for whom protection and legislation were necessary, and out of which territory some noble States have since been carved.

Like many of the Revolutionary officers of his adopted province of Pennsylvania, St. Clair was of foreign birth. He came from Scotland, whence Mercer, of Virginia, had preceded him. Thompson, Hand, Irvine, Butler and others of the Pennsylvania line were born in Ireland, and in their commands were many Irishmen. As against Great Britain they proved to be of stalwart breed. Once engaged in the struggle, St. Clair was equally devoted to it, but at first he showed hesitation. Educated in England, joining the British army as Ensign, taking part in the capture of Louisburg, engaged again under Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, and then settling on lands in Western Pennsylvania, granted to him for his services to the Crown, he was naturally conservative during the ominous spring of 1775. We do not find him among the leading spirits of the time, hastening matters to an issue, but rather falling into the popular current and espousing a cause which had already become common. Some of his early expressions indicate caution and distrust of the movement, as, for instance, in what he wrote to Joseph Shippen on May 18, 1775: "Yesterday we had a county meeting, and have come to resolutions to arm and discipline, and have formed an Association, which I suppose you will soon see in the papers. God grant an end may be speedily put to any necessity for such proceedings. I doubt their utility and am almost as much afraid of success in this contest, as of being vanquished;" and again, later: "I have not a word to say about public matters—the people are all mad, and I hate even to think of the consequen-

ces. Heaven restore peace to this distracted country!" In the same vein he writes to Governor Penn, on the 25th: "We have nothing but masters and committees all over the country and everything seems to be running into the greatest confusion. If some conciliating plan is not adopted by the Congress, America has seen her golden days; they may return, but will be preceded by scenes of horour. An Association is formed in this county for defence of American liberty. I got a clause added, by which they bind themselves to assist the Civil Magistrates in the execution of the laws they have been accustomed to be governed by." This wish to avoid the rupture prevailed very generally until the close of the year and later, when the mass of the colonists drifted almost unconsciously into the very midst of rebellion and became part and parcel of it. Before the opening of 1776, St. Clair found himself a pronounced American, ready to break with old ties and trust the hazard of a revolution.

Upon resigning his commission in the British army in 1762, St. Clair married Miss Phœbe Bayard, of Boston, niece of Governor James Bowdoin. A comfortable patrimony falling to them, he made his home in Ligonier Valley, east of Pittsburg, and by his wealth, influence, and superior education, became widely known throughout that region. Here, in January, 1776, he received a commission from Congress as Colonel of Continental troops, the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety having recommended him for the position, with Wayne, Shee, and Magaw. Accepting the service, he raised a regiment in six weeks, and early in May joined the American forces in Canada, under General Thomas. In his "Memoirs," written late in life, he thus refers to this decision: "Although I had a young wife I loved very much, and five small children equally dear to me, and held six offices in Pennsylvania, all of them lucrative, viz: Clerk of the Court of general quarter sessions, prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, clerk of the orphans Court, judge of probate, register of wills, recorder of deeds, and surveyor of the largest county in the province, I did not hesitate, for I held that no man had a right to refuse his services when his country called for them. I resigned them all; proceeded forthwith to Philadelphia, and on the 22d day of January, 1776, received instructions to raise a regiment to serve in Canada, where it was known to many of the members, I had served in seventeen hundred and fifty-nine and sixty."

That was a sorry campaign in Canada and the Northern Department in the summer and fall of 1776. Quebec had not been taken; gallant Montgomery was dead; Arnold and Wooster could effect little; Thomas died soon after taking the command, and when Sullivan appeared as his successor early in June, he found a sickly, insufficient army, and the enemy reinforced by troops

under Burgoyne. Sullivan, nevertheless, was confident, overconfident, and in his proposal to seize Deschambault and control the Canadian territory between Quebec and Montreal, he met with a repulse which forced a general retreat to Crown Point on Lake Champlain. This repulse was suffered in attempting to surprise the enemy at the Three Rivers, on the north bank of the St. Lawrence, and was the first encounter in which St. Clair and his regiment participated, and of which he as well as Colonel Irvine, and Lieutenant Colonel Hartley, of the Pennsylvania troops, have left some description. General Thompson, who was in command for four days, before Sullivan's arrival at Sorel, projected the attack and the latter approved it. On the night of the 7th of June, a force of about eighteen hundred men from the New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania regiments, crossed the St. Lawrence from the advanced post at Nicollet, and disembarked nine miles above Three Rivers, which was to be attacked by daybreak. Immediately upon landing, Thompson, who accompanied the expedition, divided his troops into five detachments, commanded by Colonels Maxwell, St. Clair, Wayne, and Irvine, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley, and pushed for the enemy. A faithless or ignorant guide led them into an extensive quagmire, and so far from effecting a surprise, they failed to reach the enemy until broad daylight, and then only in broken form. Wayne, sighting the British first, promptly attacked and drove in their advanced parties, but a heavy fire from their lines checked his progress. St. Clair and Irvine could make no impression, and Maxwell's troops were too scattered. Each party accordingly withdrew as best it could under its own commander, and on the 10th the expedition recrossed the river, with a loss of about one hundred and fifty officers and men, including General Thompson and Colonel Irvine, who surrendered as prisoners of war. The most active spirit in the affair was Wayne. Hartley frequently mentions him as having "behaved exceedingly well, and showing himself the man of courage and the soldier." In his official report to Schuyler, Sullivan says: "Colonel Wayne sustained the greatest loss, as his men began the attack and behaved with great bravery, as did the Colonel himself. In short, all the officers behaved with spirit except some few of low rank." Upon returning to camp Wayne, in regimental orders, complimented his own soldiers who were with him: "Their spirited conduct in bravely attacking and sustaining the fire from both great and small arms of an enemy more than ten times their number, merits his highest approbation."

The facts in the case of the Three Rivers defeat bear upon the historical temper of St. Clair's biographer. In illustrating the career of his subject, somewhat more of justice might have been done the General's companions in arms by a fuller mention of their own services in conjunction with his.

By the contrary method an undue importance is attached to his record, and the reader is without the means of testing the relative significance or accuracy of many of the statements presented. A certain impression fastens itself that the underlying effort throughout the work is to magnify to its largest capacity every meritorious action with which St. Clair is to be credited, and to ignore or demolish the claims of others where they conflict with his. The Three Rivers action, as well as what followed, is in point. Mr. Smith, the biographer, takes Mr. Bancroft, the historian, to task for giving a wholly "unsupported" and "extraordinary" version of the expedition, and with which the brief account, as given above, in the main agrees. Mr. Bancroft introduces Wayne prominently, without mentioning St. Clair in that connection, which may account for the criticism; but Mr. Bancroft is undoubtedly correct, so far as he has followed the best authority, which may be found in Force's archives in the shape of a letter from an officer who took part in the engagement, and which, as lately discovered, was written by Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley, who commanded one of the divisions on the occasion. It is republished from the original in the valuable work entitled "Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution," edited by Mr. Linn and Dr. Egle. Hartley wrote the day after reaching camp, and gives a much fuller description than either Irvine or St. Clair. The latter, whom Mr. Smith follows, seems to relate only what came under his immediate observation, confines himself to his own record, and says almost nothing of his companions. In assuming that he took command and piloted the troops out of their difficult and dangerous situation after the failure of the attack, he can only have reference to the division he commanded. As a matter of fact, the ranking officer, after the capture of General Thompson, was not St. Clair, but Maxwell, of New Jersey.

Nor can we overlook the claim that St. Clair exerted a leading influence in movements on the St. Lawrence. That he was an officer whose opinions and judgment, in view of previous experience, were entitled to particular respect, will be readily admitted; but to hold him up as the potential agent, or military adviser, without whom matters would have gone still worse, is unhistorical. According to his "Memoirs," he ventured on certain suggestions to his superiors which his biographer makes much of. Instance, again, the proposal to secure Three Rivers, where St. Clair says: "I suggested to General Thompson, who commanded at Sorel, the practicability of retarding at least, if not preventing entirely, the British transports from passing up the River by taking post at the village of Trois Rivières, from which place I had seen, in the former war, a division of them very much injured and obliged to fall back, and proposed to gain possession of it with six hun-

dred men." But Thompson writes at the time to this effect: "Mr. Bonfield [a Canadian] says that about three or four miles below the Three Rivers, the channel runs within musket shot of the north shore, that the banks are high, and, indeed, everything in our favor to engage us to take possession of that spot. . . . I can take from here . . . one thousand men and leave enough to support this place (Sorel) till more can be sent." Thompson's plan, from this, seems to have been original with himself and founded on information derived from another than St. Clair. The latter, however, was subsequently sent forward to attack the enemy, who, meanwhile, had occupied the place. Finally, Sullivan reports: "The unfortunate defeat of General Thompson and his detachment happened in this manner: namely, the repeated accounts from Three Rivers of the smallness of their numbers induced General Thompson to detach Colonel St. Clair to attack them with seven hundred men, before my arrival. This not being put in execution and St. Clair remaining at Nicollet, and the account of their weakness being confirmed, the General solicited the liberty of attacking them, which I granted." One might infer from these extracts that both in the matter of suggestion and actual movement, instead of leading, St. Clair was led.

Once more, when Sullivan retreated from Sorel soon after, we are informed that St. Clair advised him to do so; but it appears that Arnold and Hazen and Antill urgently advised him to the same effect by letters written from different points, and that the retreat was finally undertaken on the unanimous vote of his field officers, called together in council. We entertain not the slightest doubt that these excellent suggestions, as he states, occurred to St. Clair, but did they occur to no other officers as soon and as forcibly? Neither Thompson nor Sullivan express obligations to the Colonel for giving advice of singular value on the occasions in question.

From the Northern Department St. Clair, late in the year, was transferred with New England troops to Washington's distressed army on the Delaware. As the oldest Colonel in the Pennsylvania line, he had been promoted to a Brigadier, and wore his new honors worthily. It was his fortune to participate in the glorious scenes at Trenton, where he commanded the reserve brigade of Sullivan's column, and again, a week later, he joined in the more brilliant Princeton surprise, which brings us to another point of disputed laurels.

Fame enough it would be for any man, soldier or not, to be known as the author of that resolute move on the night of January 2, 1777, when British pride was humbled and the vanishing prospects of the Revolution were suddenly and lastingly revived. We cannot forget that Trenton and

Princeton were crises in the contest, inducing moral effects not outweighed by those of any subsequent event. The credit of projecting both belongs principally, as we firmly believe, to Washington, despite the claim of the present biography that Princeton, at least, was a dash of St. Clair's inspiration. To the pointed statements respecting this claim made elsewhere in these pages, by General William S. Stryker, Adjutant-General of New Jersey, there is little to add. If the recollections of St. Clair, as interpreted by Mr. Smith, represent the case entire, we are to understand that Washington placed himself in a trap on the east bank of Assunpink Creek at Trenton, and then despairingly asked his generals how to get out of it. St. Clair, we are told, solved the difficulty by suggesting a night march in the rear of the enemy to Princeton. The determining points, however, are Washington's prior movements and objects. Why did he recross the Delaware after the Trenton surprise, when he knew the enemy would be eager to avenge it—how came he boldly to await the approach of Cornwallis all day of January 2d, whom he could not expect to fight successfully—why did he gather all his available troops, militia and continental, north of the Delaware? Washington's own expressions furnish the answer. His eye turned northward—his aim was the harassing of the enemy in Jersey, the recovery of the State and the salvation of Philadelphia. Only the day before the Princeton march he wrote to Morris from Trenton: "We are devising such measures, as I hope, if they succeed, will add as much or more to the distress of the enemy, than their defeat at Trenton." To Maxwell at Morristown he writes, December 28: "As I am about to enter the Jerseys with a considerable force immediately, for the purpose of attempting a recovery of that country from the enemy . . . I must request you will collect all the force in your power together and annoy and distress them." He requests General MacDougall at the same place to keep the militia embodied until "they are joined by our regular troops;" and on the 30th he wrote him significantly from Trenton: "I beg you will collect all the men you possibly can about Chatham, and after gaining the proper intelligence, endeavour to strike a stroke upon Elizabethtown or that neighborhood; *at any rate be ready to co-operate with me.*" Here was a well-defined intent to advance into New Jersey, stir up the enemy wherever opportunity offered, and compel them to retire toward New York.

In this light Washington's position on the Assunpink was neither accidental nor purposeless. He may not have known, on the morning of January 2d, when he was still in Trenton, what the situation would be in the evening, but during that day he watched the progress of the enemy upon

him from the direction of Princeton, knew that they were coming ("according to my expectation," are his words), and must have calculated all the chances of a collision. Sending out troops he delayed the British advance until sundown, avoided a general battle, and took position on favorable ground on the east side of the Assunpink. Then it was that a council of officers was called to discuss the situation, whether to remain there and fight, or retreat if that were possible, and then it was that St. Clair is represented as solving the dilemma by proposing the night march to Princeton. He claims, again, that he first suggested the move, that Mercer seconded, and all approved it. We shall not dispute the statement that the move did suggest itself to him or that he first advocated it, but not in any way does this prove that Washington had not already contemplated it, and probably for many hours. What was not revolving in his mind when, in the afternoon of the 2d, he found he must cross the Assunpink? What move after that? Could he stay there safely? It would blast all prospects to recross the Delaware, provided it could be done. Had he not started out to push northward? Must he not make a desperate effort to "add reputation to his arms?" A move to Princeton would be the very thing.

As to authorities in the case we may confront St. Clair and his biographer with Gordon, whom the latter properly accepts. That early historian says of the council: "The matter of debate is, Shall we march down on the Jersey side and cross the Delaware over against Philadelphia, or shall we fight? Both are thought to be too hazardous. On this, *General Washington* says, 'What think you of a circuitous march to Princeton?' It is approved and concluded upon." It is quite probable that Gordon received his information from Knox, who had just been made a Brigadier and was without doubt at the council. Writing to his wife the next day, this officer says that Washington "thought best" to make the "most extra manoeuvre" by way of Princeton. St. Clair was extremely happy in his suggestions, and we learn that he was on the point of making another of importance at the battle of Brandywine, when he ascertained that it had already occurred to Washington and that he was acting upon it.

Passing over Mr. Smith's overestimate of St. Clair's part in driving the enemy from Princeton College, which was effected mainly by his superiors, Greene and Sullivan and the artillery—passing over the statement that St. Clair once more "suggested" marching to Morristown from Princeton, when there was no other road to take, and when Washington had several days before instructed MacDougall to collect troops at that place and co-operate with him—passing over the erroneous supposition that when St.

Clair was soon after promoted to a Major-Generalship, it was in recognition of distinguished services and gallant conduct at Trenton and Princeton, when, in reality, on the testimony of General Poor, he was not brought "to close action" at either place, although showing spirit and coolness, and when promotions were made by seniority alone—giving these and other matters only a passing notice, we find St. Clair appointed, in June, 1777, to the command of the important post of Ticonderoga. An interesting piece of history we have here, but its details are too extended for notice in this connection. Suffice it to say that Burgoyne was threatening to descend from Canada, but in what force was uncertain; that Schuyler was in command of the Northern Department; that troops were few and resources scanty, and that the country believed Ticonderoga to be impregnable. Stationed at that fortress, St. Clair was expected to hold it, but on the night of July 5, 1777, Burgoyne having made his appearance with a large army, he suddenly evacuated the post and saved his troops from the surrender which would have inevitably followed by remaining. The loss of the fortress created alarm, excitement, and indignation, both Schuyler and St. Clair coming in for much criticism and abuse; but the act was prudent and in the end St. Clair was fully justified. No one withholds from him the credit of doing what a good soldier should have done under the circumstances. But in extolling his hero, the biographer goes out of his way, as if for effective contrast, to put General Schuyler in an unfavorable light—the charges being that in the Ticonderoga matter he shirked responsibility, pandered to public opinion, and, moreover, was guilty of certain misrepresentations.

Respecting these points, the facts are briefly as follows:

As Commander of the Northern Department, General Schuyler visited Ticonderoga about the 20th of June, inspected the post, and called a council to consider the chances of its successful defence. In view of the extent and incomplete condition of the lines, the small number of troops at hand, and the difficulty of obtaining provisions, the Council voted to evacuate Ticonderoga, and attempt no more than the defence of Mount Independence, opposite, on the south side of the lake. Means of retreat in case of extremity were also provided. The execution of this plan was entrusted to St. Clair, while Schuyler repaired to Albany to call for troops and supplies, and prepare an effective support for his subordinate. As yet the intentions of the enemy under Burgoyne were unknown, but the belief prevailed in Congress, and to a certain extent among the Northern generals, that any movement from the direction of Canada must be in the nature of a feint, while the mass of the British troops would be concentrated under Howe at New York

for operations against Washington. Burgoyne was able to cover his advance so effectually that St. Clair could not estimate his strength with any degree of certainty until within thirty-six hours of the evacuation. When the news spread that St. Clair had abandoned the post, rumors also thickened that Schuyler had ordered it, and public sentiment began to denounce both generals as guilty of dereliction. Schuyler quickly contradicted the rumor, and declared that he could not account for St. Clair's retreat. It is this conduct of Schuyler's which Mr. Smith criticises as unmanly and disingenuous, in view of Schuyler's knowledge that St. Clair could not hold his own against the enemy, provided they came in force. Instead of expressing surprise, the General ought rather to have approved the retreat and shared the responsibility.

But it is to be observed, in reply, that Schuyler was then marching to St. Clair's support; that he had reached Fort Edward; that for several days St. Clair had written hopefully, believing that the enemy were not in force, never hinting at retreat, and that he had actually called in the surrounding militia to assist in holding Mount Independence. To Washington St. Clair wrote after the event: "Until the Enemy sat down before the place, *I believed the small garrison I had to be sufficient.*" The Commander-in-Chief was no less taken back than Schuyler by the evacuation, for the tenor of all St. Clair's latest letters was against the probability of such an event. Schuyler, accordingly, could be, and doubtless was, entirely honest in his surprise.

Mr. Smith goes further and accuses General Schuyler of "moral cowardice," in failing to order the evacuation of Ticonderoga at an earlier date, and an answer of the General's is quoted in proof—an answer given at the St. Clair court martial—where he says of the works, that "as the continent conceived them of great importance, and very strong, I did not think myself at liberty to give any orders for an evacuation of them." This is described by the biographer as "standing in fear of public opinion," but Mr. Smith fails to notice that General Schuyler is speaking of the abandonment of the fortress *before the enemy put in an appearance*. It had been regarded as the stronghold of the North. Why should it be given up when not threatened, as far as known, in heavy force? Congress, to whose attention Schuyler had referred the matter, gave no directions, and public sentiment in the case was very properly taken into account. In point of fact, Schuyler, as a member of the Ticonderoga Council of June 20th, did give his authority to retreat in case of an emergency. That emergency never was presented to him by St. Clair, and orders, in consequence, could not be given for the evacuation. How Schuyler felt in the matter is best ex-

pressed in the following letters, hitherto unpublished, from the papers of the Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.:

HEAD QRS. FORT EDWARD, July 10, 1777

TO COLO. WM. WILLIAMS,

Gentlemen, Your favor of yesterdays date I have this moment received. The evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence is unhappily too true. I am informed it was done in consequence of a Resolution of the General Officers in Council. I have not yet been so happy as to see any of them, and can not therefore inform you upon what principles that resolution was founded. I am sorry to learn from Colonel Williams of White Creek and other Gentlemen that it is imputed to me, as having given an order for the purpose. If such order was ever given I should not dare to deny it, as the means of Detection must be very easy, if principle was no restraint to asserting a falsehood. General Learned has seen the Originals of my Last Letters to General St. Clair, for they were returned sealed by Colonel Long having never reached Ticonderoga. They held up Ideas widely nay directly repugnant, to the Orders I am so unjustly charged with giving; you will please therefore to give my own words in contradiction to such report should it have taken place with you. The Enemy have appeared at Fort Ann But at present none of them are there except a few Lurking Indians or white men Disguised like Indians of which we have good assurances. The Enemy have many in order to intimidate. I am in hopes that when General St. Clair and General Nixon with the Troops respectively with them arrive, that I shall stop their progress in the vicinity of this place, provided we are properly supported by the Militia.

I am Gentleman

With much respect

Your Obedt. Humb. Servt.

PH. SCHUYLER

FORT EDWARD July 12, 1777

TO JACOB CUYLER

Dear Sir, I am getting matters into tolerable train and if a hundred waggons arrive to day or to morrow I hope to save the most minute article we have at Fort George. I am informed that a report prevails equally injurious to me and to the Country that I had ordered Ticonderoga to be evacuated. It is an utter falsehood. Not an expression in any of my letters can with the severest construction be brought to countenance such a suggestion. It is impossible to impose on the public on such an occasion, as the order must be produced if any was ever given; but the truth is it was resolved on in a Council of General Officers on the Day before it was evacuated, on what principles I know not. I suppose I shall be advised of them as soon as General St. Clair arrives who is now at Fort Miller. If the Enemy give me a Little time, and I believe necessity will oblige them to do that, we shall, I trust, put ourselves into such a posture as will prevent them from going down the Country, notwithstanding the variety of Cares that engross my attention.

I assure you that I am in high spirits and thank God in full health, hoping for the best and not doubting but that our affairs will soon wear a better face and take a more favourable turn and in the fullest confidence that America can not be conquered by Britain. Why should we dispond? do you, my Dear Sir, and let every Gentleman inspirit the people and all will be well.

Adieu

Yours Sincerely

PH. SCHUYLER.

As to misrepresentations, Mr. Smith alleges that "Washington was greatly perplexed, as he had not been supplied with copies of St. Clair's

letters to Congress, and had been misled by the correspondence of Schuyler." Examination of the record shows the contrary to be true. Washington had all the latest information, and Schuyler, in stating that the Ticonderoga garrison "amounted to five thousand men for duty," where St. Clair reported a little over two thousand, with nine hundred militia just arrived, was strictly accurate. St. Clair gave rank and file, and omitted, as he afterward acknowledged, nearly one thousand men "on command" or fatigue duty. Schuyler took the official returns as subsequently given in evidence at the St. Clair trial, which show that "on the 5th of July, 1777, the whole force in Ticonderoga was 5,639 men and officers, of which a number not exceeding 639 could be considered as sick." St. Clair did not dispute these figures, which more than sustain Schuyler.

Respecting St. Clair's subsequent revolutionary career, it needs but to say that he was honorably acquitted by the Court of Inquiry which investigated the Ticonderoga affair; that he rejoined the army and filled all stations well, though not conspicuously engaged at any time. We regret that his papers throw no additional light on many points, especially on the André case, with which he was identified as a member of the Court. Mr. Smith puts him in the battle of Monmouth, but St. Clair himself states that he was not there.

This review of the General's military record has been necessarily extended to meet statements made in the present biography. We could have wished that the work had been less eulogistic, less sweeping and confident in many of its expressions, more judicial in its tone. St. Clair was an officer of merit, whose services are to be gratefully recalled, but we cannot believe that his compatriots regarded him with the devotion with which he is regarded to-day by an admiring biographer. His interesting career as a civilian and Governor of the Northwest—perhaps the most important period of his history—must be considered at some future opportunity.

H. P. JOHNSTON

¹ The St. Clair Papers. The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair, Soldier of the Revolutionary War; President of the Continental Congress, and Governor of the North-Western Territory. With his Correspondence and other Papers, Arranged and Annotated by William Henry Smith. In two volumes, 8vo, pp. 609-649. Cincinnati: ROBERT CLARKE & Co., 1882.

NOTE.—The "Original Documents" in the present number throw some new light on the Ticonderoga evacuation. A few of Schuyler's orders given here also appear among the papers introduced at the Schuyler court-martial, whose published "Proceedings" is now a scarce work.

THE PRINCETON SURPRISE, 1777

The flank movement of the American army in the early morning of January 3, 1777, was a brilliant conception in the soldierly mind of General Washington. In General St. Clair's narrative the following remark occurs: "The General summoned a council of the general officers in my quarters, and, after stating the difficulties in his way, the probability of defeat, and the consequence that would necessarily result if it happened, desired advice. I had the good fortune to suggest the idea of passing the left of the enemy in the night, gaining a march upon him, and proceeding with all possible expedition to Brunswick. General Mercer immediately fell in with it, and very forcibly pointed out its practicability and the advantages that would necessarily result from it, and General Washington highly approved it, nor was there one dissenting voice in the council."

In General Wilkinson's "Memoirs" (I. 40) we read what he remembered to have heard of the proceedings of the council of war: "I have before observed that General St. Clair had been charged with the guard of the fords of the Assunpink, and in the course of the day, whilst examining the ground to his right, he had fallen on the road which led to the Quaker Bridge. Whether from this circumstance, or what other information I will not presume to say, it was this officer who, in council, suggested the idea of marching by our right and turning the left of the enemy. The practicability of the route was well understood by Colonel Reed, Adjutant-General; and the Commander-in-Chief, as soon as satisfied on this point, adopted the proposition."

In a recent work entitled "Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair, Soldier of the Revolutionary War," by William Henry Smith, in allusion to this event, we find the following remark: "Hereupon one of the council made a suggestion so happily solving the problem as to add in its brilliant execution to the well-deserved renown of Washington. . . . It was the inspiration of true genius."

Mr. Bancroft, in his "History of the United States" (IX. 246), questions the assertion made in the above-mentioned works that General St. Clair first suggested the movement of turning the left of the British column, and says: "St. Clair liked it so well that, in the failing memory of old age, he took it to have been his own."

It has always seemed strange to me, familiar as I have been all my life

with the movements of the American army in the Revolutionary period, in and near Trenton, N. J., that General Washington waited until a council meeting at night before he prepared for some movement which he must make before the dawn of the following day. I cannot be convinced, with my knowledge of this locality, and my study of the character of Washington, that he put off his plans for the next day until the voice of General St. Clair, around the council-table that night, indicated what was best to be done.

In examining into the truth of this claim of General St. Clair, his aide and his biographer, it will be well to note here a few of the events which had just been enacted, and study for a moment the position of the respective armies on January 2, 1777.

The American army having been driven from the forts on the Hudson River, had beat an inglorious retreat through the Jerseys and over the Delaware River. Recrossing that river in a fierce storm and in the crushing ice, they had suddenly surprised the Hessian Rall and his veterans, overcome with their Christmas revels, and had carried off nearly a thousand of the trained soldiers of European wars. These prisoners had been safely taken over the river into Bucks County, Pa., and soon after, Washington and his army crossed the stream again and quartered in Trenton, prepared once more to meet the foe, with some additional force which General Mifflin, General Cadwalader, and Colonel Hitchcock had brought over from Bristol, Pa., to the south bank of Assunpink Creek. On the morning of January 2, 1777, the British army commenced their march from Eight Mile Run, near Maidenhead, now Lawrenceville, four miles south of Princeton. All day the advance party of Lord Cornwallis's force contended with the American riflemen under Colonel Hand, and later with the troops commanded by General Greene, and night came on as they reached the Queen Street Bridge, leading over the Assunpink Creek. The whole British army quartered in Trenton that night, except a detachment under General Leslie at Maidenhead and a brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Mawhood at Princeton. The British army then held the north bank of the Assunpink Creek, and the American army the high ground on the south bank of this little stream. Washington had hardly 2,000 Continentals and 3,000 militia, and Cornwallis had at least 7,000 men, the finest troops in the British service. This was the military situation at this critical moment in the winter campaign in New Jersey.

Every officer, every man in the American army must have seen the danger to which they were now exposed. In front lay a proud, confident, valorous foe, nettled by the seizure of the German brigade, boastful that

they would bag the rebels on the morrow. To the rear of the patriot troops was a comparatively level country, with no natural means of defence, and no position from which either to damage, or even to hinder an advancing enemy. To the left was a river, which could they but safely cross again would certainly protect them, but to cross in boats under a raking fire was sure destruction.

The alternative was then presented, either a running fight southward along the river, toward Burlington, a struggle across an icy river with an insufficient number of boats, or a quick movement on the rear of the enemy at Princeton.

General Washington knew from his scouts the numbers of the British army advancing on him. He knew all day of January 2d what his position would be at night, if, by any good generalship, he could keep the foe from crushing him during the daylight hours. Can it then be for one moment supposed that he postponed his plans until the assembling of the council, and until General St. Clair rose to suggest a scheme which, by twelve o'clock midnight, was in full process of being carried out?

General Wilkinson, then Major Wilkinson, and an aide to General St. Clair, says that the General, being charged with the guard of the fords of the Assunpink (meaning the upper crossings by Henry's Mill and at Phillips's Ford), while examining the ground, had fallen on the road which led to the Quaker Bridge. Are we then to suppose this was a road unknown to Washington, and not suggested to him all day of January 2d by other officers than St. Clair, and only mentioned to him for the first time in council that night?

The officer who guided General Sullivan's column down the river road to the surprise at Trenton, December 26, 1776, Captain John Mott of Third Battalion, New Jersey Continental Line, and who was now recruiting his company for the Second Establishment, was with Washington at this time. He was born near Trenton, had always lived there, and it is not possible to conceive that he did not know well the road to Quaker Bridge. Colonel Isaac Smith, commandant of the militia regiment in the town, a leading citizen, a physician, and a soldier, was, of course, ready to give Washington any information in his power. The New Jersey militia was commanded by General Philemon Dickinson, a resident of Trenton, and for many years living within sight of the Quaker Road, and this intimate friend and trusty counselor was certainly prepared to map out the country to his chief. The headquarters of General Washington were at the inn kept by Jonathan Richmond, and he was the barrack-master of the American army in the village. The Quaker Road must have been perfectly familiar to him. On Decem-

ber 30, 1776, Washington sent out his own Adjutan.-General, Colonel Joseph Reed, a native of Trenton and a graduate of Princeton College, to ascertain the position and force of the British army. Colonel Reed must have been familiar with this road in his boyhood days, and even Wilkinson says he "well understood the practicability of the route." When Colonel Reed performed on the day mentioned the little exploit with the Philadelphia City Troop, so fully recorded in Wilkinson's "Memoirs," the only road which he could then have taken from the house where this affair occurred, was by way of Quaker Bridge and Sandtown to Bloomsbury and Trenton. Washington's own aide must then have known the road that he galloped over three days previous.

But Washington also prepared for the midnight march during the day of January 2d, by procuring his guides to lead him over the very road St. Clair afterward "suggested." Ezekiel Anderson lived near Heary's Mills, on the Assunpink Creek, two miles from Trenton. Patrick Lamb lived at Quaker Bridge, a bridge over the upper waters of the Assunpink Creek, a little over one-half the way to Princeton. Elias Phillips lived between Patrick Lamb's house and Maidenhead, where General Leslie's British forces were quartered. These men left their homesteads that day, and it is well known, by tradition in their families, that they appeared in the council room and offered to guide the patriot army that night in the great flank movement. They certainly, in those troublous times, did not leave their homes unprotected unless to do a patriot's duty in compliance with the desire of one whom it was their delight to obey.

In Revolutionary times the road from Bloomsbury, now that part of Trenton south of the Assunpink Creek where the American army was then quartered, to Sandtown, was a well-known and much used road leading toward Cranberry, and thus to Monmouth County or Amboy. From Princeton to Allentown and to Crosswick's was a road blazed for the use of Quakers going to Stony Brook, or Crosswick's meetings. Between Quaker Bridge and Sandtown was a tract over a mile in length, called "The Barrens," just east of the Bear Swamp, from which the scrub-oak trees had at that time just been cut. To avoid the long, circuitous route by Nottingham Square, General Washington chose to cross a field of stumps, by a path somewhat west of the present road, and so reach the blazed road near the Quaker Bridge and the route to Princeton. In Stone's "Life of Howland" (p. 75), we find: "A considerable part of it was by a new passage, which appeared to have been cut through the woods, as the stubs were left from two to five inches high." To guide the army across this very tract Washington wanted Patrick Lamb, of Quaker Bridge, and to keep his column a sufficient dis-

tance from General Leslie's sight and hearing at Maidenhead he needed Elias Phillips. And they were in Trenton before the council meeting, ready for the duty.

General Washington having settled in his own mind the best mode of escape from the apparent *cul-de-sac* in which Cornwallis had placed him, called his officers around a council board in General St. Clair's quarters. It is possible General Washington may have asked General St. Clair, whose guest he then was, to open the discussion, and to have indicated privately to him beforehand the line of march he proposed. Or it is possible Washington may have desired to see what better plan could be suggested by his general officers, and then have heard named the same plan and nothing else than what he had himself been preparing to execute. Was it like Washington to have left so vital a question undecided, unprepared for until so late an hour? His character and his conduct during the war forbid such a conclusion.

In the despatches to Congress sent by Washington December 27, 1776, he made special mention of the "spirited behavior" of his aid-de-camp, Colonel Baylor, and in general orders the same day he gave to Colonel Knox, his chief of artillery, much praise for the handling of the guns in the Trenton fight; but in the official report of this grand flank movement to Princeton, dated Pluckemin, January 5, 1777, the name of St. Clair is not mentioned. General Washington was never so ungenerous as to claim for himself the credit of all the gallant acts of his troops. He was always ready to gratefully recognize and acknowledge the good services of his subordinates, and he would certainly not have omitted to give due praise to one of his general officers had this plan been entirely of St. Clair's conception and suggestion.

It is impossible for me to suppose that General Washington did not know well what he was doing all day of January 2d, and into what a critical position he was being driven. It is quite impossible for me to think he deliberately allowed himself to be placed in a trap, and then, after dark, in deep despair called upon his generals to get him out of a scrape from which he felt himself powerless even to suggest a plan of escape.

WILLIAM S. STRYKER

THE TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LANDING AT THE KENNEBEC

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the coast of New England, still called Norumbega, was the subject of golden dreams. Somewhere in the Penobscot region was to be found a splendid city abounding in precious metals, while silver and pearls were said to be obtained along the shores.

The first English voyage in the seventeenth century was that of Bartholomew Gosnold, who, in 1602, with the letter of Verrazano in his hand, stole out of the port of Falmouth, England, and sailed to this coast, named New England by Captain John Smith in 1616, finally making a harbor at Cuttyhunk, one of the Elizabeth Islands southward of Cape Cod, where he loaded his ship, the Concord, with fragrant sassafras, although, owing to their quarrels, the Concord was already heavily freighted with discord; which, on arriving at Southampton, was only increased by the confiscation of the cargo by Sir Walter Raleigh, Gosnold and his friends having made a contraband voyage, poaching upon the manor of the patentee. The voyage of these interlopers will never lose its interest, being invested with something akin to romance. It so impressed the mind of one well-known Antiquary, that, for the nonce, he seemed quite to forget his allegiance to the pilgrims of Leyden, and proposed, knowing only one side of the story, that the American Antiquarian Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society should unite in a formal celebration of Gosnold's voyage, by this proposition delicately suggesting that no other society need aspire to the privilege of swinging the incense boat in honor of such exalted worth. Yet, as a matter of fact, according to the morals and the laws of that age, the amiable, interesting, and, no doubt, upright Gosnold, was simply a squatter and a thief. At least it was so decreed; while to give the subject short shrift in the court and hurry up the proceedings, Raleigh agreed that Gilbert, who was the principal man in the so-called "Gosnold voyage," should "have his part agayne." Sir Walter, to anticipate the action of another party, thus proposed to compound the felony.

The next voyage was that of 1603, the voyage of Martin Pring, which was encouraged by the great Hakluyt, and had the sanction of Sir Walter. Pring made his harbor at Plymouth, anticipating the Leyden men by seventeen years, and loading two ships with sassafras.

In 1605, Waymouth, in the Archangel, came upon the New England coast,

anchored at Monhegan and explored the Kennebec. Here he captured five Indians, who were taken to England and trained for future use in colonization. They attracted the attention of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Governor at Plymouth, who says that, "under God, they were the means of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations."

What he learned in connection with this voyage led him to use his influence with Sir John Popham; and, finally, by their joint efforts, the king was induced to grant two patents, one for the London and one for the Plymouth Company, both being under the general governing body composed of thirteen persons, called the "Council of Virginia." The territory of the London Company included the regions between 34° and 41° N., and that of Plymouth 38° and 45° N. They were entitled to coin money, impose taxes and duties, and exercise a general government for twenty-one years. The value of Waymouth's expedition, therefore, cannot be questioned, and whatever may be said about Gosnold, Waymouth, in no inferior sense, is entitled to take rank as one of the founders of New England.

The year 1606 was devoted to preliminary exploration, and on the last day of May, 1607, an expedition, composed of the ship *Mary* and John and the fly-boat *Gift of God*, sailed from the *Lizard*, commanded by George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert. At the end of twenty-four days they reached the Azores. Here the *Mary* and John had a narrow escape from the Netherlanders, who seized Captain Gilbert, charging him with being a pirate.

The two ships, being separated, proceeded on their course. At present we have no record of the voyage of the *Gift of God*, but the *Mary* and John sped on her way, and, July 30th, made Cape La Have, and afterward sailed down the coast of Nova Scotia, entering the Gulf of Maine. August 5th, they saw the Camden Hills, whose three double peaks were sketched by Pilot Davis, who made the first known sketch of any portion of the coast scenery of New England, and anticipated that practice of making elevations which is now a part of the work of the United States Coast Survey. They finally obtained anchorage at Monhegan, where, the next morning, to their great joy, they sighted the *Gift of God*. The following day was Sunday, when the companies of the two ships landed on Monhegan, and celebrated divine worship.

Upon this romantic island the Pilgrims of Maine set up their altar, under the shadow of a tall cross, and there, where each flower tolled its sweet incense upon the soft summer breeze, they celebrated the worship of God in simplicity and faith. The following is the quaint memorandum recorded by one of the worshippers:

"Sondaye beinge the 9th of August in the morninge the most part of our holl company of both our shipes landed on this Illand the wch we call St. George's Illand whear the crosse standeth and thear we heard a sermon delyvred unto us by our preacher gguinge God thanks for our happy metinge and saffe aryvall into the contry & so retorned aboard aggain."

The orators have celebrated the religious spirit of that little band, who, upon "Clark's Island," in Plymouth Harbor, kept such a memorable Sunday, crouching around their half-frozen fire; but the men of the Mary and John and the Gift of God were not less duteous than those of the May-flower. Indeed, they were Englishmen, and representatives of one of the two peoples who alone in the ages all along have shown a supreme regard for the sanctity of the day of rest. The scene upon Monhegan was unique. A Christian priest, the Rev. Richard Seymour, stepped upon the soil of New England for the first time, an authorized minister pronounced his first known blessing, and then and there New England was formally consecrated to Christian civilization.

This event would justify a monument on Monhegan; while a simple, massive memorial, conspicuously placed, and surmounted by the cross, would serve as a landmark to the voyager on the sea, while from its granite pedestal it would speak in tones that could not be misunderstood.

Next we read of the voyage of the Mary and John to the Kennebec, when she narrowly escaped shipwreck, and was buffeted as badly as the May-flower when seeking a harbor at Cape Cod. We give the account entire from the narrative found by the writer in the Lambeth Palace Library.

Wensdaye beinge the xiith of August we wayed our anckor and sett our sailles to go for the ryver of Sagadehock.

We kept our course from thence dew weste untill 12 of the clok mydnyght of the sam then we stroke our sailles & layed a hull untill the morninge doutinge for to overshoot ytt.

Thursdaye in the morninge breacke of the daye beinge the xiiith Auguste the Illand of Sutquin [Seguin] bore north of vs nott past halffe a leage from vs and ytt rysseth in this form hear vnder followinge the w^{ch} Illand lyeth ryght beffore the mouth of the ryver Sagadehock South from ytt near 2 leages but wee did nott make ytt to be Sutquin so we sett our sailles & stood to the Westward for to seek ytt 2 leages farther & nott fyndinge the ryver of Sagadehocke we knew that we had overshott the place then we wold have retorned but could nott & the nyght in hand the gifte sent in her shallop and mad ytt & went into the ryver this nyght but we wear constrained to remain att sea all this nyght and about mydnight thear arosse a great storme and tempest vpon vs the w^{ch} putt vs in great daunger and hassard of castinge awaye of our ship & our lyves by reason we wear so near the shore the wynd blew very hard

att South right in vpon the shore so that by no means we could nott gett of thear wee sought all means & did what possybell was to be done for that our lyves depended on ytt hear wee plyed ytt wth our ship of & on all the nyght often times espyeing many soonken rockes & breatches hard by vs enforsynge vs to put our ship about & stand from them bearinge saill when ytt was mor fyttter to have taken ytt in but that ytt stood vpon our lyves to do ytt & our bott soonk at our stern yett woold we not cutt her from vs in hope of the appearninge of the day thus we contynued vntill the daye cam then we perseaved ourselues to be hard aboard the lee shore & no waye to escape ytt but by seekinge the shore then we espyed 2 lyttell Illands lyenge vnder our lee. So we bore vp the healme & steerd in our shipe in betuyxt them whear the Lord be praised for ytt we found good and sauuffe anchoringe thear anchored the storm still contynuinge vntill the next daye followinge.

Frydaye beinge the xiiith of August that we anchored vnder these Illands thear we repaired our bott beinge very much torren and spoiled then after we landed on this Illand found 4 Salvages and an old woman this Illand ys full of pyne trees of ocke and abundance of whorts of fower sorts of them.

Satterdaye beinge the 15th of Auguste the storme ended and the wind cam faier for vs to go for Sagadehock so we wayed our ankors and sett saill & stood to the estward & cam to the Illand of Sutquin wth was 2 leages from those Illands we rod att ancor beffor and hear we anchored vnder the Illand of Sutqin in the ester syd of ytt for that the wynd was of the shore that we could no[t] gett into the ryver of Sagadehock and thear Cap^t Pophams shipp bott cam aboard of vs & gave vs xx fresh cods that they had taken beinge sent out a fyshinge.

Sondaye beinge the 16th of Auguste Cap^t Popham sent his shallop vnto vs for to healp vs in so we wayed our ankors and beinge calme we towed in our ship and cam into the ryver of Sagadehocke and anchored by the Gyftes syd about xj of the klok the sam daye.

Here on the peninsula of Sabino they built a fort, which has been succeeded by a modern fortress called "Fort Popham." It mounted twelve guns. They also built a storehouse, a chapel, and a small vessel called the Virginia, which crossed the Atlantic several times. Everything was done in a religious spirit, suggesting the words, "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." Thus we read:

Wednsdaye beinge the 19th of Auguste we all went to the shore whear we mad choise for our plantation & thear we had a sermon delyvred vnto vs by our precher and after the sermon our pattent was red wth the orders and lawes thearin prescrybed then we returned aboard our shipp again.

Thursdaye beinge the 20th of Auguste all our companys landed & thear began to fortifye our presedent Capt. Popham sett the fyrst spytt of ground vnto ytt and after hem all the rest followed and labored hard in the trenches about ytt.

The first celebration of which we have any account in connection with the settlement at Sagadahoc, that is, if we may call it a celebration, took place upon the two hundredth anniversary, in 1807, when the late Dr. Jenks, a well-known Congregational clergyman, with a party of gentlemen, recognized the event by a visit to the spot. In 1862 an imposing celebration took place under the auspices of the Maine Historical Society, when many eminent men from different parts of the country were present, and the oration was delivered by Mr. John M. Poor. The proceedings and contributions were published in an octavo volume called "The Popham Memorial."

Invitations were given to men of all shades of opinion to speak on that occasion, but the speech of the late J. Wingate Thornton was so peculiar that the committee refused to print it, and thus gave it an importance to which it was not entitled. Other celebrations have occurred since.

The celebration of 1864, when Professor Patterson, of Dartmouth College, gave the oration, led to some controversy; and two or three writers did all that lay in their power to cast aspersions on the colony, though without avail. By an appeal to Sir William Alexander and Lord Bacon they even sought to show that the colony was composed of transported felons! An examination of the statutes, however, brought to light the fact that no law existed at the time in accordance with which criminals could be sent out of the country, so that the language of the above-mentioned authors did not apply, while the charter provided for such as went "willingly"—all being free to return. This attempt to injure the reputation of the men of Sagadahoc originated with those who were nettled by the thought that the colony set on foot by Church of England men, antedated Plymouth. They, nevertheless, had comparatively few sympathizers among non-Episcopalians. Indeed, some of the most generous recognitions of the colony came from individuals traditionally connected with the ancient glories of Congregationalism. Several have gone far beyond all others in declaring the importance of the event in connection with New England colonization, maintaining that the colony was never wholly given up, and that a portion of the colonists remained and transferred their activity to the neighboring harbor of Pemaquid.

Sixteen years have passed away since the attack was made upon the character of the men of Sagadahoc, and not a single charge has ever been substantiated. The Popham colonists were undoubtedly men of fair character, though the majority may not have been much superior to colonists in general. Under trying circumstances, but supported by the influence of their minister, moral order prevailed—the savages themselves, who looked on, being impressed by the solemnity of public worship. The record of the

colony at Sagadahoc is unstained, while the attempt to make this a sectarian question has failed.

This subject, it will be seen, is one of no mere local interest. It is worthy of the attention of all who desire to make themselves acquainted with the beginnings of New England colonization. The commencement at Sagadahoc formed an essential preliminary, though it may prove difficult to render this apparent to such as accept the dictum of a writer who declares that, but for persecutions in Old England, there would never have been any New England, which would, of course, have been a howling wilderness to-day. At the opening of the seventeenth century, colonization, as Hakluyt proves, had become a moral, social, and commercial necessity. The colony in Maine formed an essential part of the irrepressible British activity abroad, and, both in Virginia and New England, the people generally were alive to the demands of the situation. Nevertheless, many have allowed the exclusive claims of the Brown-Barrow Separatists in connection with colonization. The agency of the men of the Church of England was conspicuous. The Plymouth colonists have their claims, and they have been fully acknowledged. These claims do not conflict with those of the men of Sagadahoc, who, animated by the enthusiasm of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, first lawfully undertook to establish civil society in New England, their action forming part of a great and irrepressible movement.

Maine, therefore, is entitled to distinction in common with Massachusetts, and the importance of the work done there in staying the advance of the French must be admitted; for all through the years following the beginning at Sagadahoc the English claimed the coast, continually occupying it, confiscating French ships and driving them from the Island of Mount Desert, where they attempted a settlement.

Whether the Popham colonists furnished any direct successors to carry on the work in Maine we cannot say. In the plenitude of their ignorance, however, some have assumed to know all about it, and thus we are assured that they did not. Unfortunately for this negative theory we do not possess the names of the men engaged in the Popham colony beyond those of the officers, and hence we cannot at present decide upon the relationship existing between the men of 1607 and those who afterward figured upon the coast. Strachey, who was not in the expedition, says that the next spring they all embarked for England; but it is of very little consequence in connection with this discussion whether they all embarked or not. We have already pointed out the fact that this expedition was part of a general movement in favor of colonization, which was destined, irrespective of the results of religious disturbances in England, to people this country at no distant day.

Future researches, however, will doubtless bring to light many facts bearing upon the settlement of Maine, and when the contents of some of the garrets in the old seaports in the south and west of England are brought to light, we may find that the adventurers at Sagadahoc at a later period had many direct representatives in New England. The discussion of this subject is not yet ended.

B. F. DE COSTA

GARFIELD AND AMERICAN HISTORY

General Garfield belonged for some years to the Literary Society of Washington, and at the time of his death was its president. The society is limited in its membership, and holds its meetings in a social and informal way at different residences. Garfield was a frequent attendant and often took part in the exercises, which he found to be a relief even after a hard day's debate in the House. He was always at home on topics of American history, and is on record as having engaged, at one of his first meetings, in a discussion as to who were the five chief promoters of American independence. At the meeting on the evening of Washington's birthday, 1879, he made an address on "the wonderful character of the revolutionary career of the Father of his Country, taken in connection with the preceding circumstances of his life." On the same anniversary in 1880 he called attention to "the remarkable fecundity of Virginia in great men about the Revolutionary period," and named several of her sons who were eminent in various capacities, viz.: Patrick Henry as orator, Lee as cavalry leader, Madison as constitutional expounder, Marshall as jurist, Mason as parliamentary debater, Jefferson as philosophical statesman and Washington as soldier, statesman, and patriot. The General suggested that "an inquiry as to the causes of this unusual wealth of talent found in one State at one epoch, might furnish the society an interesting subject for discussion at a future meeting."

Some of his best efforts were inspired by historical topics, notably his address on the "Future of the Republic," and his speech on the occasion of the acceptance by Congress of the statues from Massachusetts of Winthrop and Adams in the National Memorial Hall.

THE TOMB OF THE GORGES AT ST. BUDEAUX

Being a foremost member of the old council of Plymouth, of England, of 1620, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in the division in 1635, became the sole owner of the territory between the Piscataqua and the Sagadahoc or Kennebec River. This hundred miles of coast, and in the words of the Plymouth charter, "from sea to sea," he named the Province of Maine. What prompted this name is uncertain, and will not probably ever be known. Like himself, the first settlers were firm adherents to the Established Church of England, and indignantly rejected the overtures of Massachusetts to extend their protection over the territory. The old knight died in about 1645, in the midst of the controversy with Massachusetts. In 1675 his grandson and heir sold his birthright in Maine to the Massachusetts colony for 1,250 pounds. Sir Ferdinando's manor-house at Ashton Phillips is now in ruins—only a small part of the dwelling apartments remain, but the chapel where the noble old knight led his tenants in their responses in the service, is yet perfect.

As a mistake has been made in connection with the Tombs of the Gorges, it may be stated here, on the authority of the Rev. Frederic Brown, of Beckenham, Kent, that the tomb in Wraxall Church, in Somersetshire, contains the tomb of Sir Edmund Gorges, Knight, who was the great, great grandfather of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. It is a splendid tomb, in a beautiful condition, and has never gone to decay. It formerly stood in the centre of the chancel of the Wraxall Church, but several years ago was removed to a recess made specially for it in the north wall of the church, when all the colors and gilding were renewed. Sir Edmund married three wives, and the effigy of one of them, Lady Ann Howard, his first wife, lies beside his own.

The Gorges Tomb at St. Budeaux, however, is that of Sir Tristram Gorges. This monument went to decay, but eventually a representation of facts and an appeal for assistance in restoring the monument was made by the rector of the parish of Wraxall to the Maine Historical Society. A generous sum was made up by subscription among the members, and a small appropriation was made by the Society and forwarded to the proper officers of the church.

The restoration cost fifty pounds, thirty-four of which came from Maine. A Plymouth (England) journal gives the following account :

One of the most interesting old monuments in this county—historically as well as architecturally—has just been carefully renovated through the exertions of the Rev. Wollaston Goode, M.A., Vicar of St. Budeaux, and principally at the expense of the Historical Society of the State of Maine, U. S., the Duke of Bedford, and a few other gentlemen.

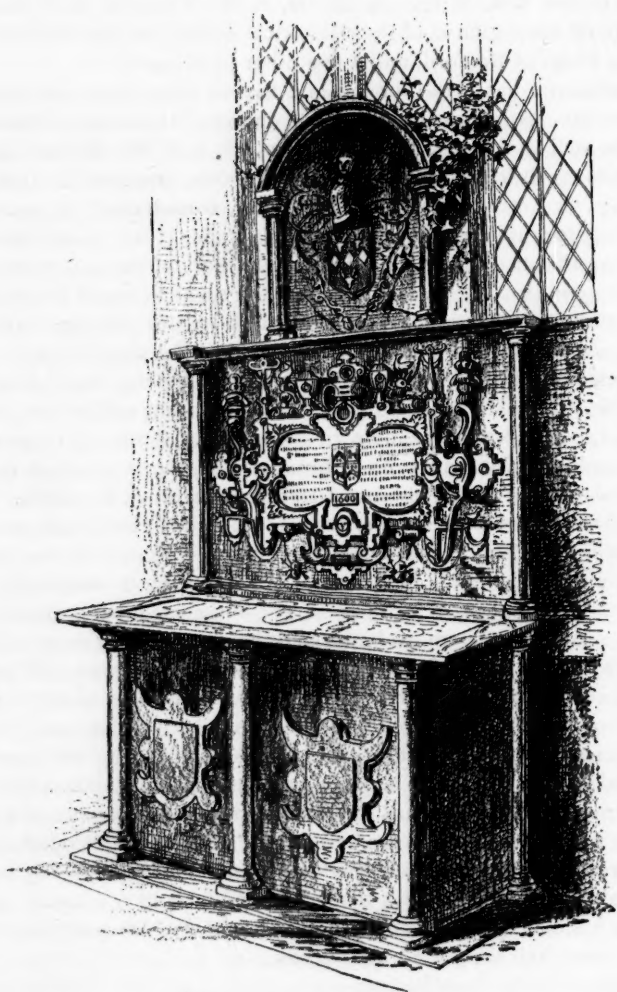
The memorial has stood for the last two or three hundred years at the east end of the north aisle of the parish church. It is an altar-tomb built against the wall, and of goodly proportions. It is of Elizabethan character, and exhibits much beautifully carved and heraldic ornament of that period. It had long been in a lamentable state. Yet, considering the years which have lapsed since its erection, and the vicissitudes it has passed through, it is surprising that it exists at all. During the wars of the commonwealth, in 1642, and again in 1645, St. Budeaux was the scene of much fierce fighting, and it is recorded that at one time upwards of one hundred unfortunate Royalists were kept prisoners within the walls of the sacred fane.

The restoration of this venerable monument having been placed in the hands of Mr. Harry Hems, of Exeter, it has, under that well-known statuary's supervision, been entirely taken down and rebuilt. Although of goodly proportions, and exhibiting a wealth of ornate detail, the structure is composed wholly of slate from the celebrated Delabole quarries in Cornwall. All the restored masonry is in the same ashy-hued material. Originally around the altar portion were five detached columns, resting on moulded bases and carrying ornamental capitals. Only one of these remained, but happily it was sufficient to form the *motif* for the rest, and these have been carefully made in unison. What may perhaps be termed the altar-stone is most elaborately carved. There is a wide border of conventional ornament, and within, in low relief, coats of arms, and mantling. At the rear of the altar is a reredos, supported at each side by columns. It is filled with elaborately chiselled Elizabethan scroll work. In the centre is a shield bearing the arms of the Gorges and Cole families, and beneath, upon a label, is the date 1600. Above this reredos again are columns supporting a moulded segmental arch, and within the recess thus formed are exquisitely carved in high relief the arms, helm, and crest of Roger Budockshed, surrounded by fine flowing mantling. All the old work has been most tenderly cared for and renovated, additions have been judiciously made, and the tinctures of the different arms brought out again with their proper heraldic colors.

The arms may be described as—

1. *Sable*, three fusils in fesse, between three stags' faces *argent*; crest, a Saracen's head *proper*. (Budockshed.)

2. Lozenges, *or* and *azure*, a chevron *gules*, differenced with a crescent



The Gorges Tomb at St. Budeaux.

of the first; crest, a greyhound's head and neck coupe, *argent*, collared *gules*, thereon a crescent *or*. (Gorges.)

3. Gorges and Budockshed, quartered.

4. Budockshed, with crest.

5. Quartering; 1st and 4th quarters, lozenges, *or* and *azure*, a chevron *gules*, with a crescent of the first for difference (Gorges); 2d and 3d, *argent*, a bull passant, *sable*, coward, within a bordure of the second, charged with twelve bezants. (Cole.)

The following legend has been inscribed upon the monument in suitable characters:

"Restored 1881, chiefly at the expense of the Historical Society and citizens of the State of Maine, U. S. A., in memory of Sir Fernandino Gorges, the first Proprietor and Governor of that Province, A.D. 1635."

Then follows a list of the family buried there:

"Roger Budockshed, of Budockshed, Esq., ob. 1576."

"Sir William Gorges, Knt., ob. 1583."

"Tristram Gorges, of Budockshed, Esq., ob. 1607."

"Mrs. Elizabeth Gorges, ob. 1607."

The better to maintain the faithfulness of the restoration, and for the more particular satisfaction of our American cousins interested, the monument was photographed some months ago, in its forlorn state, by Mr. Long, of Union Street, Plymouth, and has been photographed again by him since completion. Mr. Harry Hems has fulfilled his delicate task with his usual care and skill.

The view of the tomb which accompanies this article was drawn from a photograph of the monument, and gives a tolerable idea of its general appearance and the details of the sculptures, and the Maine Historical Society may be congratulated on the part which it has taken. No architectural pile, however, whether in St. Budeaux or in the New World, can ever serve as the monument of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The *real* monument is to be sought in that happy and prosperous portion of the country known as New England, of which, in such an eminent sense, he was the founder.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

EVACUATION OF TICONDEROGA, 1777.

I—LETTERS.

[From the originals in possession of the Mercantile Library, New York City.]

II—GENERAL SCHUYLER'S ORDERS, ETC.

[From the Manuscripts of the Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.]

I. FROM COLONEL RICHARD VARICK.

Albany July 7, 1777

D^r Sir

I did myself the pleasure to write you on the 5th instant informing you of my safe Return from Tyconderoga. I now have the happy Reflection of having escaped a most Ignominious inconceivable flight & of having saved every Paper and my clothing, when the Gen^l & other officers & soldiers whom I left there brought about 4000 men off without a second shirt for their backs, having their Magazines pretty well stored with ammunition, Provisions & about 100 pieces of artillery with every other necessary article. Part of the army fled in Boats to Skenesborough where being pursued they lost their Baggage & Vessels & every trifling article they had brought off. The Gen^l officers with at least 3000 men have Gone into the New England States the Lord Knows where or when to return. If Burgoyne knew our situation he would be here in 6 Days if his army is respectable which is doubted. Gen^l Schuyler is gone up to Fort Edward at the Head of the Militia & a handful of Continental troops to check the progress of the Enemy. I hope Gen^l St. Clair will make a speedy return.

The long expected Brigade from Peekskill is not yet arrived. When these join we will treat with our Enemy par pro pari. We must bear these fortunes & Disappointments with the calmness of Philosophers, agreeing with Pope in his maxim of "*What is, is right!*" It must be so with us—we shall now fight on equal ground except their hav^e cannon as so many Bugbears. . . . I am Dear Sir,

Your Most obed.

& very hmb^l Serv^t

RICH^d VARICK.

To Colo. Joseph Ward,

[Mustering Officer Northern Department]

II. FROM MAJOR LANSING.

[Aid to General Schuyler.]

Fort Edward July 9th 1777.

Dear Colonel

The incessant Run of business in which I have been constantly involved, as well as my being uninformed of the Fate of our army and some other circumstances has prevented me from paying my Respects to you sooner.

The evacuation of Tyconderoga and Mount Independence was a Measure so unexpected and to all Appearance was so inexpedient, that it is to me matter of surprize what Inducements they could have to adopt it. This with every other unpopular measure is ascribed solely to our General by the insidious emissaries of the Enemy, who lurk under the Mask of Friendship. It is said that he ordered it. Our general has not yet received a line from General St. Clair, tho' we have just received Information that he was at Castle Town yesterday and bending his course this way. However expedient a Retreat might have been (and its pro-

priety I much doubt) it was certainly very ill conducted, but Colo: Hay has doubtless related to you every particular until Long's retreat from Skenesborough. Upon his arrival at Fort Ann he posted himself at that place with his party and yesterday was attacked by part of the 9th Regiment. Upon receiving intimation of it a Reinforcement was dispatched from this post under the Command of Colo. Renselaer, who drove the enemy back killed about 20 and took a Captain prisoner who is now on his way to Albany with Colo. Renselaer who is also wounded. The general wishes you to take Measures to have them accommodated with Conveniences and Lodgings.

July 10th 10 A.M.—Major Livingston is this Moment come in. General St. Clair with the army will be here in a few Hours; this Reinforcement with General Nixon's Brigade will make our army respectable here and if the Enemy do not pay us a visit in a Day or two we shall be ready to receive them and probably stop their progress.

I beg my Respects to Mrs. Schuyler and Family and am respectfully

Your's &c. &c.

J. LANSING Jun^r

[To Colonel Varick, Albany.]

III. FROM COLONEL VARICK.

Albany Aug^t 28, 1777.

Dear Sir

. . . Genl. Gates is a happy man to arrive at a moment when Genl. Schuyler had just paved the way to victory; He has not taken any Measures yet & cannot claim the Honor of anything that has as yet happened, Except the appointment of a Commissary Genl.

of Issues whose Ignorance of Business & Inability at the pen (I am informed) can only be equalled by the partiality & want of Judgment of the Officers who recommended him to Genl. Gates. I wish a more experienced hand in that Branch—the Genl. knew not the man, but slighted a spirited able Gentleman, because he returned the Blow when a Genl. officer struck him.

Genl. Gates I am told takes the merit of ordering Colo. Gansevoort to command Fort Schuyler during Genl. Schuyler's absence at Philadelphia. This piece of Vanity he is indebted for to want of Information for Genl. Schuyler had ordered him up some days before his departure for Philadelphia; but I believe Genl. Gates delivered him his instructions.

It is said that Resentment in the Southern army runs high against *all* the Genl. officers who were in this Department when Tyconderoga was evacuated. I believe were even malice itself to sit in judgment on Genl. Schuyler's conduct and spirit, she would at once give the lie to her profession and acquit him with honor & applause. . . .

Your's Very Sincerely,

RICH^d VARICK

COLONEL WARD.

GENERAL SCHUYLER'S ORDERS, ETC.

Albany July 6 1777

To ELISHA AVERY Esq^r

Sir

Whatever fat Cattle you may have here shou'd be sent without delay to Fort Edward and Fort George for the use of the troops there, otherwise the little salt provision which we have and which I

want if possible to get sent to Ticonderoga will be expended, and such a constant supply kept up at every post as that we need not expend above one Days salt meat in seven

I am Sir your hum : Serv^t

PH SCHUYLER

Fort Edw^d July 7th 1777

To COL^o LONG

Dear Colonel

Your second of this Day I have just before received. I have sent a Detachment to your Assistance with some ammunition and doubt not but it will be well expended. . . . I wish you to send the prisoners to this post. . . . The Moment you hear from Gen^l St Clair I beg you to advise me of it by Express. I expect General Nixon with a Brigade tomorrow or next day. I hope when Gen^l St Clair & General Nixon and the other troops from below arrive that we shall be able to do a little more than merely keep them at Bay

I am Yrs &c

PH SCHUYLER

To COL^o LONG

A Reinforcement is this moment moving towards you with some ammunition, more will be sent as soon as it arrives. Keep your post as long as possible

I am Yrs &c

PH SCHUYLER

Saratoga July 7th 1777

To PHILLIP V RENSSELEAR Esq^r

D^r Sir

The General desires you will employ all the hands you can procure in making the Lead into musquet Balls, and

to push it up with all expedition, together with Cartridge paper and thread

By order of GEN^l SCHUYLER

JOHN LANSING Jun^r Sec^y

H^d Quarters Fort Edw^d July 8 1777

To COL^o LEWIS

D^r Sir

The Carpenters who have been employed at Ticonderoga and Skeensborough are totally destitute of Tools, having lost them all in their Retreat. Some of them are on their way down and will apply to you to be furnished with what Tools you can procure. The General desires you will take the most effectual Measures to procure them a Supply. Inclosed you have a list of necessaries wanted by the Garrison at Fort Schuyler. Such as have not been sent by Rensselaer and in your power to furnish you will please to send on with all the expedition possible to Col^o Gansevoort except the Musquet Ball, which must be delayed till we have a supply here

I am &c

By order of GEN^l SCHUYLER

JOHN LANSING Jun^r Sec^y

Fort Edward July 8 1777

To COL^o LEWIS

Dear Sir

Three hundred Carriages are wanted at this place which it will be necessary to detain only a few days. Your best exertions will be required to send up that Number. . . . Let none be neglected. Apply to the Committee at Albany and General Ten Brook in my name and request their aid to induce the people from every Quarter to come up with Waggon. . . . Let the Militia bring

with them as many as they think proper and assure them that their Detention will be only for a few days. We are in great Distress for want of Lead. An Article so essentially requisite that we cannot even hope to do anything here to prevent the Enemies advancing without it. The Citizens of Albany only can supply our present exigencies immediately. Recourse must therefore be had to the Committee, begging their interposition to collect such Lead as is in the City. The Lead from windows and Weights may perhaps afford a supply for the pres^t. As soon as it can be collected Mr. Rensselaer will have it made into Ball, and send it up without a moments Delay

I am Sir

Your very humble Serv^t

P. S.

Should a Waggon only be sent with one Box, as soon as it is ready it must be pushed up: also all the Buck Shot.

Fort Edward July 8 1777

To MAJOR YATES

Sir

By the return of the first Carriages, you will please to send the remainder of the powder, keeping a Quantity sufficient for the Garrison & Schooner. You will also send what entrenching Tools can be spared and all the Cannon except those in the fort and on board the Schooner and the Salt.

Should there be a greater Number of Carriages than what are wanted for the above Articles you will cause them to be Loaded with Flour, as we shall soon be in want here. . . .

As soon as General St Clair arrives I shall reinforce your Garrison, but should

you certainly discover that the Enemies Army are near you and so strong as that you will not be able to keep your post, you are then to Quit it bringing off all you can and effectually destroying the rest together with all the Buildings. If you are obliged to come away try by all means to bring of the Cannon and Tents.

Keep the Contents a profound secret for fear of Dispiriting the Troops

I am Sir

Your most Obed^t hum Ser^t

PH SCHUYLER

If you have any musket Ball send it over in the very first Waggon with what Bullet moulds you may have.

Fort Edw^d July 8 1777

To EPHRAIM V VEGHTEN Esq^r

Dear Sir

Carpenters are indispensibly necessary at this post as well as Carpenters Tools.

The General wishes you to push up Hilton with his Company and all the Carpenters Tools you can possibly collect as it is so very essential to the service to have them forwarded without a moments delay pray do not suffer them to make any

I am Y^r &c

By order of the Gen^l

JOHN LANSING Jun^{or} Sec^y

Fort Edw^d July 8 1777

To ELISHA AVERY Esq^r

Sir

The Army is on its march to this place, the Militia are coming on from every Quarter, and unless a Speedy supply of meat is sent up we shall be in Dan-

ger of Starving. You will therefore strain every nerve to procure that necessary Article and take measures to have a Quantity of Fat Cattle and Beef to answer our exigencies instantly forwarded

I am Sir

Your most Obed^t

PH SCHUYLER

Fort Edw^d July 8 1777

To PH V RENSSELAER Esq^r

Dear Sir

Such is the urgent necessity of a speedy supply of musket Ball that no exertion should be Spared to have it immediately furnished—Every Man therefore that can be got must be employed in that necessary work must be engaged and push it up as soon as any is ready. The Cartridge Paper is doubtless on its way

I am Dear Sir

Your very hum : Serv^t

by order of GEN^l SCHUYLER

JOHN LANSING Jun^r Sec^y

Head Qua^m Fort Edw^d July 9 1777

GENERAL ORDERS

One thousand Men composed of General Fellows's Brigade and the Militia of this state to parade at 8 o'clock this Morning on the Road in Front of the Fort. Cap^t Wendell to furnish as many Felling axes as he can procure. All the sick to be embarked in Batteaus and carried down to Fort Miller from thence forwarded on to Albany

The Batteaus to return to this place without a moments delay

By order of the General

JOHN LANSING Jun^r Sec^y

Head Qua^m Fort Edw^d July 9 1777

To COL^o LEWIS

Sir

You will please to send up all the Camp Kettles and Potts in Store to this place without a moments delay

By order of the General

JOHN LANSING Jun^r Sec^y

Fort Edw^d July 9th 1777

To MAJOR YATES

Sir

Your Letter of this Day is just Delivered me. . . . The Large Wagons which now go up are capable of carrying the Eighteen Pounders you will therefore send them on without Delay. . . .

Send over the Carpenters Tools and likewise the Blacksmiths tools and Bellows &c. We stand much in need of both. Send 8 Barrels more of Powder. . . . When these things are forwarded send all the Rum that belongs to the settlers for we shall need it much. It is to be left in their own possession, as are the other articles mentioned in my Last. . . . General St Clair is expected here tomorrow, if he arrives I shall not be in haste to evacuate fort George. The stores however must be removed. Should you be obliged to retreat bring off all the horned Cattle & Carriages belonging to the Inhabitants, except their Milch Cows. Such carriages as you cannot bring away you must destroy. Keep this a secret least they should put it out of your power to comply with this order

I am Dear Sir

Your most Obed^t Serv^t

PH SCHUYLER

Fort Edw^d July 9th 1777
To JACOB CUYLER Esq^r

Dear Sir

I have this moment received your letter of Yesterdays date and note the Contents. . . . I have the Misfortune to inform you that I have little or no provisions, here of the meat kind. I ordered Mr. Avery to send on all the Cattle, he could get, but have not yet seen a single one.

For Gods sake hasten up Cattle. I cannot learn what is become of General St Clair and the Army, and last night a Col^o Long from new Hampshire contrary to my orders evacuated fort Ann, after a party of the Enemy were drove off. I am here with about fifteen hundred men including Militia without hardly any amunition—not having above five rounds a man, nor have I any Waggon to bring away the stores from Fort George which I expect every moment to hear is attacked. They have got it in the Country that I have order'd the Evacuation of the Fortresses above. Not an expression in any of my Letters conveys even the most Distant hint of anything like it. I cannot be particular on that part of your Duty. Let it suffice that you take every possible measure for supplying the Army

I am D^r S^r

Y^{rs} &c

PH SCHUYLER

Fort Edward, July 9th 1777
To COL^o JOHN WILLIAMS
D^r Sir

Your letter of yesterdays Date I have this moment received. So far from ordering the Evacuation of Ticonderoga, not a syllable in my letter con-

veys the most distant idea of such an intention. Indeed neither of my last letters even reach'd General St. Clair. They were returned last night by Col^o Long who has Evacuated Fort Ann contrary to my Express orders. I am sorry to find the people in such Consternation. If they will come forth and defend the Country, we may still be able to prevent the Enemy from penetrating down the Country. For God's sake encourage them all in your power. If you can give me any Intelligence of what is become of General St. Clair & the Army pray send it by Express.

I am Y^r Most Obed^t

PH SCHUYLER

Fort Edw^d July 9th 1777
To PHILLIP V RANSSELAER Esq^r

Dear Sir

I am extremely sorry to hear that the ammunition Waggon did not Leave Albany until yesterday Morning. Nothing can equal the Distress we are in for the want of it.

Let me intreat you in the Name of God to hasten on the Ball & Cartridge-paper, and let a trusty hand attend the Waggons in which they come.

I am Yours &c

PH SCHUYLER

Fort Edw^d July 10 1777
To COL^o LEWIS
Dear Sir

Yours of the 8th Instant is before me. I am happy at the measures you have taken, hasten up everything that an Army may stand in need of which has hardly anything. . . . Carriages are so much wanted that we may be

utterly ruined for the want of them. They must be sent me. The Ammunition Waggon that was loaded on Sunday last is not yet arrived—whenever any ammunition is sent up apply to the commanding Officer for an Officer to escort it, and let me know the very hour on which it Leaves Albany.

Let the Smiths make axes. The Batteauxmen are I think acquitted, if not, I pardon them—please to signify this to Colo. Wesson for I have not time to write to him. . . . If the Enemy gives us a little time and I am joined by General St Clair they will not see Albany this Campaign.

I am Sir your most Obedt
PH SCHUYLER

Fort Edwd July 12th 1777

TO MAJOR YATES

Dear Sir

Both your Letters of Yesterday came to hand—I thank you for your diligence and activity. General St Clair with the Army will be here this morning—General Nixon with his Brigade also and more Waggon are coming up. . . . Be carefull if you are forced to leave your post to bring away your Camp equipage.

The Articles Mr Lansing wrote for are come to hand. . . .

There will be no necessity for taking receipts because the things cannot in our present confused state be regularly received, the Corn may be left to the very last.

The Bar Iron I wish to have sent. . . .

Prepare light Wood and Combustibles at every place that will require to be fired, that nothing may be left uncon-

sumed that may be of the least advantage to the Enemy. . . . If they give us time we will also bring away the small Batteau's and as many of the Large ones as we can and burn the remainder

Adieu

I am Dear Sir

Your most Obedt Hum : Servt

PH SCHUYLER

Albany Aug^t 10 1777

TO COLO GANSEVOORT

Dear Colonel

A Body of Troops left this Yesterday and others are following to raise the Siege of Fort Schuyler. Every Body here believes you will Defend it to the Last and I must strictly enjoin you so to do. . . .

General Burgoyne is at Fort Edward, our Army at Still Water great reinforcements coming from the Eastward, and we trust all will be well and that the enemy will be repulsed.

General Howe landed at New Castle In Delaware but was soon obliged to re-imbark.

It is said he means to Land on the Jersey shore and try to get Opposite—Philadelphia and Bombard it—Mr Watts who was wounded in the engagement with General Herkimer died the next Day

I am D^r S^r

Your most Obedt

PH SCHUYLER

Albany Aug^t 9th 1777

TO MR P SPOONER

Sir

Last night I received your Letter of the 7th Instant. . . . As General

Burgoyne has withdrawn every Detachment he had in the Grants; As his whole force is pointed this way; as he is already so far advanced as Saratoga with part of his Army. There is no great probability that force will be sent your way untill he shall have taken possession of this City which he will certainly do if every body remains at home under one pretext or another, and then Fort Schuyler which is besieged, must Doubtless fall into the Enemies hands.

Such an Acquisition of force as this will give him will render the whole Country however wide extended an easy Conquest.

It behoves every man therefore to come forth to join the Army and try to repulse the Enemy, and I most earnestly entreat they will do it without a moments delay.

If General Burgoyne is obliged to retreat every family will be safe.

The Stores at Bennington should be removed if it can be done without preventing the Militia from coming to join us but not otherwise, for of what value are these stores If the country is lost

I am Sir Your hum : Serv^t

PH SCHUYLER.

NOTES

JOHN BONYTHON—The hints and admonitions received from time to time by our American poets occasionally does some good. This proves to be the case with Mr. Whittier, though he withstood so stoutly the attacks made upon his poem entitled "The King's Missive," for he gives up quite gracefully in connection with his "Mogg Megone," a poem in

which he makes John Bonython appear in a false position. This worthy was outlawed for a time, but afterwards became a citizen. A descendant of Bonython in Australia wrote Mr. Whittier on the subject, explaining the case; and in his reply, dated at Amesbury, Mass., "9th mo., 15, 1881," the Poet says, "The poem was written in my boyish days, when I knew little of Colonial history or of anything else, and was included in my writings against my wishes. I think that thou art right in regard to John Bonython;" and also says that, in case the poem is retained (as we hope it will be), "I will cheerfully add the little note suggested."

PÈRE BRETEUX—While the subject is up we will make a little request of our own in connection with the same poem, "Mogg Megone," which gives some very charming pictures of the scenery around Mount Desert. Our special point relates to "Père Breteux," whose case we may plead without attempting to do the proper work of his descendants, since the pious father was never a father, and never had any ascendant. Still the poet, in describing the scenery of the neighborhood from the summit of one of the hills of Mount Desert, says:

"There sleep Placentia's group—and there
Père Breteux marks the hour of prayer;
And there, beneath the seaworn cliff,
On which the Father's Hut is seen
The Indian stays his rocking skiff
And peers the hemlock bough between,
Half trembling as he sees to look
Upon the Jesuit's Cross and Book."

The note required by these lines should state that Père Breteux never had any existence, except in Mr. Whittier's

imagination. In reality, "Mogg Megone" requires a good many little notes, and we hope its venerable author may attend to the matter in time, and, in fact, give all his pieces an overhauling, that the reader may know what is offered as truth and what is mere fiction.

HORICON—As it is still so generally believed, at least by tourists, that the original Indian name of Lake George was "Horicon," it may be well, in this connection, to quote from the preface of the "Last of the Mohicans," edition 1872, page 4, where Cooper says: "There is one point on which we would wish to say a word before closing the preface. Hawk-Eye calls the *Lac du Saint Sacrement* 'the Horicon.' As we believe this to be an appropriation of the name that has its origin with ourselves, the time has arrived, perhaps, when the fact should be frankly admitted. . . . We relieve our conscience by the confession." He also might have confessed that, in taking a party up the hill at the head of Lake *Saint Sacrement* (changed by General Johnson in 1755 to "Lake George") to view the "countless islands," he also made a mistake, as the countless islands seen from that ilk amount to only five or six.

A DESCENDANT OF RALEIGH GILBERT—The first note was suggested by the letter of Whittier, in reply to a descendant of John Bonython, living in Australia. This reminds us of a letter received some time ago from a descendant of Raleigh Gilbert, who commanded the Mary and John in the Popham expedition to Maine in 1607-08, to which an article is devoted

in the present number of THE MAGAZINE. The correspondent referred to is Treasurer of the English colony at Akra, on the Gold Coast of Africa, and his presence there shows that blood is thicker than water, and that the spirit which carried Raleigh Gilbert to Maine in 1607 is active elsewhere to-day. The Treasurer promised, on his return to England, to make diligent inquiry for documents that may farther illustrate the history of the Popham colony in Maine. Nor can this manifestation of interest be regarded as hopeless, since other documents than the Lambeth Palace *Journal* may be waiting to reward search, and dispose of the notions of those who make their lack of knowledge the basis of profound ratiocination, thus arriving at the comfortable conclusion that the Popham colonists of 1607-08 had no successors in their work, and that the colony at Sabino had no connection with anything that afterward transpired.

BONELESS AMERICA—A writer in a British periodical calls attention to the declaration of Fisher Ames, who, during the administration of Washington, said, that "though America is rising with a giant's strength, its bones are yet but cartilages." Since then there must have been some advance in the direction of the osseous. Otherwise, the fragments of America would by this time have become scattered like the fossil invertebrates that the geologist digs out of the cliffs of Gay Head. But the same writer also quotes Burke, who called the Americans "a nation in the gristle;" while Talleyrand, being a Frenchman, must needs have his *mot*, and, accordingly,

defines the United States as "un géant sans os ni nerfs." Thus one and all "make no bones" of describing us as boneless. As for Talleyrand, it would have been quite as satisfactory if he had told us less about America and more about himself; for tradition runs that he was half American, and the son of a pretty girl, the daughter of a fisherman, whose home lay under the shadow of what Whittier, if we may quote him again, calls

"The gray and thunder-smitten pile
Which marks afar the Desert Isle."

It is said that Lieutenant-Governor Robbins, of Massachusetts, once found him wandering *incog.* at Mount Desert. The testimony on this subject is at least curious, and when the long-delayed "Memoirs of Talleyrand" appear we may get that information respecting his early life which is now wanting. Possibly we may then have "a bone to pick" with him.

THE GORGES MONUMENT—Some years ago, when the American Antiquarian Society requested permission to restore the monument of Captain John Smith in St. Sepulchre, London, the committee were informed that the vestry must first have a fee. This certainly was exquisite; yet there are vestries and vestries, while the vestry of St. Budeaux did not stand in the way of their rector, who brought the subject before the Maine Historical Society, whose members contributed toward the restoration of the Gorges Monument, as stated in the article on that subject. There are other monuments that ought to be looked up.

THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS—At an early period the people of Plymouth began to celebrate the arrival of the Leydan Colonists at that place, and the particular day selected was that which they *supposed* to correspond with December 11th, old style. Their astronomy being at fault, they observed the 22d, new style, instead of the 21st as required. Some time ago the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth appointed a committee to inquire into the facts, and while they admit the astronomical error, they recommend the continuance of the observance of the 22d. An attempt, however, has been made to show that the 22d, old style, was the day commemorated, but of this no proof has been given, while it is sufficiently clear that the 11th of December, old style, was the day held in mind. This is the view of Dr. Dexter, the editor of "Mourt's Relation," who says, "M. 11th Dec., 21 Dec. [N. S.], Forefather's Day. Landed on the Rock and explored the coast." That they landed upon what is called "the Rock," is of course understood to be a tradition. The "Journal" does not indicate all that was done on the 11th, and hence the exploring party in the shallop may have landed on the Rock. "Mourt's Relation," the only authority we have, says that, "we marched also into the Land, and found divers corne fields, and little running brookes," which indicates that a landing was made at Plymouth, where there are no less than eight well-known brooks emptying into the harbor. If there was no landing on the 11th, there was no landing to which we can point that included women and children, as there was no place to shelter them. January 9th, 1621, the house

being built for their reception had no roof. The *Evening Post*, finding that the landing from the shallop, December 11th, 1620, "was an affair of small significance," is troubled, and resorts to "the idea of a general landing" on or after the 22d. This ideal landing, however, is of less "significance" than the real one of the 11th; and, upon the whole, the *Post* is pretty severe, very innocently demolishing the *raison d'être* of the annual celebration. The fact is, the first celebrants blundered like modern orators, both as respects the landing and the aims and principles of those who landed, making altogether too much of the matter, and they are now trying to wriggle out. Nevertheless, the "Landing" of the 11th of December, the only landing that we have been able to discover, is of deep interest, and at the proper time we hope to have the subject duly presented in THE MAGAZINE.

THE FANEUIL PORTRAIT—This portrait, which appears in the present number of THE MAGAZINE in connection with Dr. Hague's article, is now engraved on steel for the first time. The original, by John Smibert, is in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Smibert was born in Edinburgh, and was intended by his father for the Church; but, having a taste for painting, he entered upon the study of art. His first picture was that of a negro, who had been brought to Scotland from Martinique. He is said to have spent some time in Italy. He painted portraits in London, and came to America with Harrison and others, who followed in the train of Dean Berkeley. He is said to have instructed Copley, who is said to have had no instructor.

QUERIES

THE MAP OF VIRGINIA—When was Smith's map of Virginia first engraved? Has the plate been altered since the first engraving? If so, when and in what respect? Was it engraved from Smith's own original drawing and notes? or were the drawings and notes of others, also, consulted?

On the copy of this map which I have, I find the following English names of places, etc., not mentioned in "Smith's General History," viz.: (°)Bland's C., (°)Brooke's Forrest, Booler's Bush, (°)Burton's Mount, Cage's Harbour, (°)Downes dale, Democrites Tree, Gunter's Harbour, (°)Morton's Bay, (°)Sharpe's Ile, (°)Sparke's Poynt, (°)Sparke's Valley, (°)Taverner's roade, (°)Tindall's Point, (°)Wiffin's Point, (°)Washebonne C., Winston's Iles.

The following English names are in the "History," but are not on this map, viz.: Cantrell's Point, Ployer, Profit's Poole, and Sicklemore Point. Of the names on the map and not in the "History," those marked (1) are names of some of those who came to Virginia before Smith left. Those marked (2) of some who came afterward.

ALEXANDER BROWN

SIR WILLIAM WEST—The person who was created Lord Delaware 5th February, 1568, had a daughter Jane, who married Sir Richard Wenman. Was not Sir Ferdinando Wenman, Knight, who came to Virginia, as Marshal of the colony, in 1610, the son of Sir Richard Wenman by his wife, the said Jane, daughter of Sir Wm. West? Also, who was Katharine

West, Lady Conway, one of the very few lady members of the Virginia Company of London?

B.

ANOTHER MAY-POLE—In Onderdonk's "Queen's County in Olden Times," there is an extract (p. 3) credited to the "Albany Records," which recites, that, June 10, 1645, "Wm. Garritse sings libelous songs against the Rev. Francis Doughty, for which he is sentenced to be tied to the May-pole." Now, what was the history of this May-pole? To help the investigator, it may be added here that the reverend gentleman was "minister at Flushing at 100 guilders a year," and that "his contract for salary was burnt one year before trial [to recover arrears] by William Lawrence's wife who put it under a pye."

MAY

CONCORD—Can any reader of THE MAGAZINE tell why the place so famous as the home of Emerson, Hawthorne, and others, was named "Concord?" D.

A DISFRANCHISED COUNTY—I have the original remonstrance of "the freemen of Salem County," New Jersey, addressed to the Provincial Convention. It is signed by Gamaliel Garrison and many others. Can any reader of THE MAGAZINE tell why Salem County was disfranchised? The Journal of the Provincial Congress is silent on the subject.

W. L. S.

PAINE'S MOTTO—Can any one refer me to Thomas Paine's own declaration or use of his alleged motto, "My country is the world; to do good, my religion;" or to any authority for attributing it to him?

GERRITZE

REPLIES

CHESSY CAT—[VIII. 437] "He grins like a Cheshire Cat," comes to us from Cheshire, England, where cheese was formerly moulded into the shape of a cat, with the mouth open. The allusion is to the grinning of the cheese-cat, and is applied to persons who show their teeth when they laugh.

HERBERT N. LATHROP

BADGES OF MERIT—[VII. 298, 460] A discharge signed by General Washington and countersigned by John Trumbull states that "Jotham Bemus, Corporal in the Rhode Island Regt. has been honored with the Badge of Merit for six years faithful service." It is dated June 15, 1783 (Ass. Papers, XVII. 62).

In comparing the above discharge of Jotham Bemus with another, I find, that, if no Badge of Merit was granted, the passage at the bottom of the paper, mentioning the grant of a Badge, was cut off.

Albany, N. Y.

B. F.

VON EELKING—In the July No. [509], W. H. speaks of Von Eelking's work "as yet untranslated." If he means by "untranslated" unpublished, he is correct; otherwise not. The late Mr. T. W. Field, of Brooklyn, several years since had, at his own expense, Von Eelking's admirable work translated, and kindly loaned me the MS., of which I made great use, giving copious extracts in my translations of General and Madame Riedesel. It were to be hoped that Mr. Field's heirs will, for the benefit of American scholars, have the work published.

WM. L. S.

LITERARY NOTICES

THE BATTLE OF GROTON HEIGHTS: A Collection of Narratives, Official Reports, Records, etc., of the Storming of Fort Griswold, the Massacre of its Garrison, and the Burning of New London by the British Troops under the Command of Brigadier-General Benedict Arnold, on the Sixth of September, 1781. With an introduction and notes. By WILLIAM W. HARRIS. Illustrated with engravings and maps. Revised and enlarged with additional notes. By CHARLES ALLYN. New London, Ct.: CHARLES ALLYN, 1882, 8vo, pp. 399.

The author and publisher of this volume has used great diligence in making good its ample title page. He has collected pretty much all that we are likely to know concerning the subject, and if every point is not made clear it is hardly his fault, as the eye-witnesses do not always agree, having undertaken the task of reciting their experience long years after the fight took place, thus displaying poor memories. The English reports are scanty and partisan, while the subject is invested with a certain glamour. It is certain, however, that a battle was fought, that the commander of Fort Griswold refused to surrender, that the place was taken by storm, and a large portion of the garrison massacred. A large portion of the attacking force was also massacred. One witness says that the commander, Colonel Ledyard, resolved to hold the fort, having been assured by a certain Colonel that he would at once bring ample reinforcements. Ledyard unintentionally sacrificed himself, not believing that the British could take the fort; and Arnold, when he saw the strength of the position, recalled the order to attack, but too late. Thus both sides blundered, and to no purpose. Still, whether Ledyard believed in his own ability or not, in refusing to surrender he agreed to accept the chances of war, and knew that if he forced the enemy to storm the position the lives of the garrison were forfeit. In accordance with the rules of war, the British could have slain every man, but they did not. Whether, as affirmed by "the State of Connecticut," Ledyard was run through with the sword that he is said to have surrendered to the British officer, one cannot determine. Nothing lies like a tombstone. Still, it has been considered patriotic to hold that such was the case. It has also been deemed the correct thing to hold that the conduct of the British, and especially that of Arnold, was eminently disgraceful. Arnold says, in his official report, that he did not intend to burn the town, but it is thought improper to credit anything he says; or to hold that Connecticut militia officers had any responsibility for

the burning, though found guilty by court martial of "plundering in a wanton and shameful manner the goods of the inhabitants of Groton on the day of the battle." Still, whatever may be said on anniversary days at New London, whoever reads the testimony impartially, as given in this book, will see clearly enough that, bad as may have been the conduct of the British, it was not much worse, upon the whole, than that of the people of the vicinage, who lay supinely upon their arms and sacrificed the defenders of the fort, when an attack upon the enemy's flank would have brought off the garrison, as Ledyard probably expected, without a scratch. It is difficult, however, for the average reader of a local narrative like this to appreciate the exquisite Pickwickianism of a court martial, which, after finding the poltroon, Colonel Harris, guilty on four points, one of which being his shameful refusal to aid Ledyard, gravely says, "Lieutenant-Colonel Harris has been and is a worthy member of society." New London did not cover itself with glory, September 6, 1781, when her citizen soldiery stole muskets that they did not dare to point at the face of the foe, and plundered the houses of those helpless ones whom they had sworn to protect. Still, the volume before us makes a good exhibition for one class of the people, however severe it may be upon that other class whose blood, evidently, had "crept through scoundrels ever since the flood." The narrative is a mingled one of glory and shame. Oddly enough, the most elegant portrait in the book is that of Arnold, described on the tombstone of Mr. Rufus Hurlbut (p. 195) as one of "ye sons of hell." But as brave fighters like Hurlbut are poor haters, we may refer the spirit of the inscription to those excellent haters who did not fight. Yet, however unlovely may appear the inscriptions upon the tombstones of the victims, the artist lingered over them with great care; and if a delicate and sympathetic treatment could have eliminated the unchristian sentiments so profanely put, as it were, in the mouths of the sleeping dead, these picturesque memorials of the New London burying ground would tell a nobler and more fitting story. Some other useful illustrations are given. The volume is one of great interest and is of permanent value, the author having carefully sought to furnish every accessible fact; yet, no satisfactory *résumé* of the testimony is given, and the reader may skip the oration, sift the various narratives for himself, and thus try to find out the truth of the story.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS.
No. 9. A Representation of the Plan Formed at Albany, in 1754, for Uniting all the British Northern Colonies, in order to their Common Safety and Defence. By STEPHEN HOPKINS,

- with introduction and notes by SIDNEY S. RIDER, 1880, 4to, pp. 65.
- No. 10. An Historical Inquiry Concerning the Attempt to Raise a Regiment of Slaves by Rhode Island during the War of the Revolution. By SIDNEY S. RIDER. With several tables prepared by Lt.-Col. JEREMIAH OLVEY, Commandant, 1880, 4to, pp. 85.
- No. 11. Bibliographical Memoirs of Three Rhode Island Authors, Joseph K. Angell, Francis H. (Whipple) McDougall, Catharine R. Williams. By SIDNEY S. RIDER. To which is added the Nine Lawyers' Opinion on the Right of the People of Rhode Island to Form a Constitution, 1880, 4to, pp. 90.
- No. 12. The Medical School formerly existing in Brown University, its Professors and Graduates. By CHARLES W. PARSONS, M.D., Professor of Physiology in Brown University, 1881, 4to, pp. 59.
- No. 13. The Diary of Thomas Vernon, a Loyalist, Banished from Newport by the Rhode Island General Assembly in 1776, with notes by HENRY S. RIDER, to which is added the Vernon Family Arms, and the Genealogy of Richard Greene, of Potowomut, 1881, 4to, pp. 150.
- No. 14. Roger Williams' "Christenings make not Christians," 1645. A Long-lost Tract Recovered and Exactly Reprinted. Edited by HENRY MARTYN DEXTER, followed by certain letters written by ROGER WILLIAMS, and believed to have been hitherto unpublished, 1881, 4to, pp. 62.

It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the interest and value of this series of Rhode Island historical tracts published by Sidney S. Rider at Providence. In No. 10 we find a refutation of some false opinions respecting the great value of the services rendered by colored troops. No. 11 is a valuable contribution to the literary history of Rhode Island. No. 13 gives a picture of life in a quiet inland town during the Revolution, by one who was confined there as a suspected person for two months, when the "patriots" recovered their senses and allowed Vernon to return to his home. No. 14 is a tract found in the British Museum, "uncatalogued," by Dr. Dexter. It has been reprinted "in all its glory of misprint." The added letters by Williams are characteristically rich; and in them he defends himself against the charge of having "called This: Olney Junr., Brazen fac'd fellow & after ward you say I call

him Jackanapes and Devill;" also of "taking the land of Providence in his own name, which should have been taken in the name of those that came up with him. 2nd he sold the lands of Providence for more than it cost him. 3rd he promised Pawtuxet for £5 and took £20. 4th he stirred up Providence men to rise simultaneously against Pawtuxet men." In his answer he says, in one place, "it pleased the most high to direct my steps into this Bay, by the loving private advice of that very honoured soul Mr. John Winthrop the grandfather who, though he was carried with the stream for my banishment, yet he personally and tenderly loved me to the last breath."

VERRAZANO THE EXPLORER: Being a Vindication of his Letter and Voyage, with an Examination of the Map of Hieronimo Da Verrazano, and a Dissertation upon the Globe of Vlpus, to which is added a Bibliography of the Subject. By B. F. DE COSTA. New York: A. S. BARNES & Co., 1880, 4to, pp. 82.

These essays were contributed to THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, and in 1880 were reprinted with certain revisions. The press-work not proving satisfactory, the sheets were discarded. In 1881 some important changes were made, and another edition was struck off, with a preface, containing a document never before printed, and throwing additional light upon the personal history of Verrazano the Explorer. The title page of the edition of 1881, by an oversight of the printer, remained 1880, though the cover bears the date 1881. By an oversight of the binder, the engraving of the Lenox Globe was bound up with the volume, while the sketch map belonging to the second chapter was omitted. Subscribers can obtain copies of the missing map, on application, together with an additional Verrazano map, engraved after the work was issued. Only fifty copies of this work were offered for sale. This explanation is made to avoid confusion among the bibliographers.

HISTORY AND PRESENT CONDITION OF NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, AND REPORT ON THE CITY OF AUSTIN, TEXAS. By GEORGE E. WARING, JR., and GEORGE W. CABLE. Quarto, pp. 99. Department of the Interior, Washington.

This elaborate, large-paper pamphlet forms a part of the last census report, and is one of a series of minor reports on the social statistics of cities. Mr. Waring, special agent of the department, explains that it is more minute and complete than the sketches of the larger cities of the North

and East will be, because "the detailed history of New Orleans has not hitherto been accessible in a form suitable for popular use, the shorter histories having been too slight and the larger ones too much involved with the general history of the Southwest, to afford an easy view of the growth and condition of New Orleans itself. Furthermore, as this city was founded and brought to considerable importance under French and Spanish rule, and as it is the only large American city whose influences have been so prominent, there seemed to be an especial reason for the extra care that has been devoted to this part of the subject." Are we to understand, however, by this explanation, that this history is issued by the department "for popular use?" If so, whom does it reach beyond Congressmen and stated libraries?

As a history of New Orleans, the work is clearly one of merit and value, and will stand as a book to be consulted by those who do bring out works for "popular use." About fifty pages are devoted to an historical sketch of the place, and the remainder describe it as it is, with all the necessary statistical information. A most valuable part of the publication is the series of seventeen maps from the "Plan de la Nouvelle Orléans, 1728," to the chart showing the relation between climatic changes and mortality. The population of the city in 1880 was 216,000.

Nine pages are devoted to an historical sketch and present condition of Austin, Texas, founded, in 1839, on the site of the hamlet of Waterloo, which then contained but two families. Its present population is 11,000.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTHWEST, by JOHN A. NICOLET, in 1634.

With a Sketch of his Life. By C. W. BUTTERFIELD. Cincinnati: ROBERT CLARKE & Co., 12mo, pp. 113.

The author of this little book does not make a good departure, being somewhat mixed about the Landfall of Cabot, and fancying that the St. Lawrence was first discovered by Cartier, who was a late comer in that region; nevertheless, he afterward goes on and gives a very interesting and pleasant *résumé* of the voyages and events which led distinctly to the explorations of the so-called Northwest. Nicolet was a young man from Normandy, brought out in 1618 by Champlain. He learned the language of the Nipissing Indians, and, in 1635, penetrated to the far West, reaching Lake Michigan, afterward returning to Quebec and being drowned in the St. Lawrence in 1642. The author has studied his subject with considerable diligence, and gives an abundance of foot-notes, many of which are from the French narratives that furnish the groundwork of his story. This volume is well worth having.

THE WHITE MOUNTAINS: A Handbook for travellers. A guide to the peaks, passes, and ravines of the White Mountains of New Hampshire, and to the adjacent railroads, highways, and villages; with the lakes and mountains of Western Maine; also Lake Winnepesaukee, and the upper Connecticut Valley. With six maps and six panoramas. Fourth edition, revised and enlarged. 16mo, pp. 436. Boston: JAMES R. OSGOOD & COMPANY, 1882.

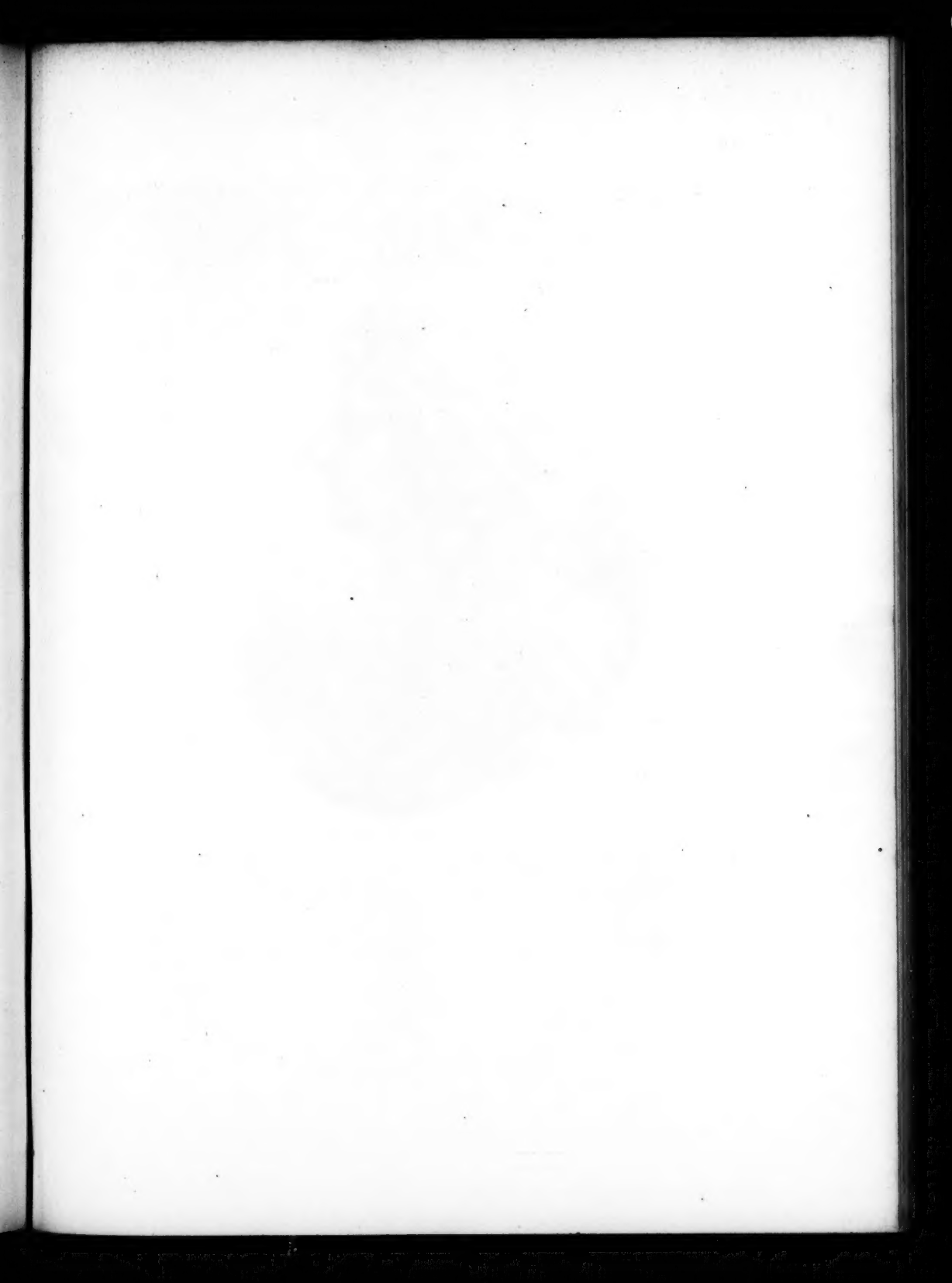
This book may be described as the best book ever made for a similar purpose. It covers the ground so completely that as a matter of economy no visitor to the White Mountains should be without it. The book will save time and money at every turn, and furnish agreeable literary recreation. The index does not contain the name of "Garfield," but historically the author does ample justice to his theme, and his work will be found an admirable guide not only by the tourist, but by those who wish to investigate the subject at home.

CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE STATE OF VERMONT AND THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON, August 15 and 16, 1877. Westminster, Hubbardton, Winson. Rutland: TUTTLE & Co., 1879, 8vo, pp. 252.

This volume is made up of regular addresses, after-dinner speeches, letters from invited guests, Sunday services, and various other matters. It is illustrated with maps, plans, and steel portraits, including the Rev. Thomas Allen (1799), Governor Fairbanks, Hiland Hall, Mrs. Dorr, and others. The volume in paper is sold at seventy-five cents for the benefit of the Bennington Battle Monument Association.

TRISTRAM DODGE AND HIS DESCENDANTS IN AMERICA.

Tristram Dodge was one of the sixteen original settlers of Block Island who went thither in 1661 and founded a very unique community, which still retains many of its original characteristics. Mr. Robert Dodge, a descendant of Tristram and a member of the New York Historical Society, has undertaken the task of writing a history of the family, a task involving no little labor, yet one of much usefulness and interest, as the family has many representatives holding prominent positions in various parts of the country. The book will be published by subscription and names may be sent to the author, 12 Wall Street, New York.





JAMES, DUKE OF THURKLAND ALBANY

Engraved by H. H. H. & Sons for the Magazine of American History

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. VIII

SEPTEMBER 1882

No. 9

YORK AND ALBANY

"GREAT York and Albany" is a title which we remember to have seen applied to James Stuart, brother of King Charles II., and afterward himself king as James II., in a political song aimed against the exclusionists who wished to deprive him of the succession. He is similarly denominated in Latin at the beginning of the legend on the obverse of the grand medallion by Roettier (silver, size 49, weight 654 oz.), emanating from a period antedating by more than a decade the bitter controversy which produced the song. "James, Duke of York and Albany, Lord High Admiral of England," is the translation of this abbreviated legend, which surrounds a bust of James at the age of about thirty-two, arrayed in the incongruous but not unimposing combination of peruke *à la Louis Quatorze* and *à la la Romaine*, which was in the taste of the day, and which Roettier, son of the Antwerp goldsmith who had befriended Charles II. in exile, had singular skill in delineating. The reverse represents, beneath the brief "Not less great on Land," the battle of Lowestoft, sometimes called of Harwich, fought off the Suffolk coast, under the command of our Lord High Admiral, and won by him, chiefly, as is alleged, through a system of signals which he devised, and a line of battle which he arranged. The great ship in the foreground, with St. George's cross at bowsprit, mizzen-mast, and stern, the flag of the admiralty at the fore, and the royal standard at the main, indicates the triumph of the Duke of York over the Dutch Admiral Opdam, whose vessels are seen in the distance, with their plain tricolors. The date in the exergue is June 3, 1665. Not one year had elapsed since, in September, 1664, Colonel Richard Nicoll, acting under a commission based by King Charles on an arbitrary grant of New Netherland which he had made to his brother the duke, had seized that colony and renamed its two chief settlements. New Amsterdam and Fort Orange had become New York and Albany. This portrait of James Stuart may, therefore, be considered contemporary with that important event;